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"Peopling the Western Country": A Study of Migration from Augusta County, Virginia, to Kentucky, 1777-1800

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**"PEOPLING THE WESTERN COUNTRY": A STUDY OF MIGRATION FROM
AUGUSTA COUNTY, VIRGINIA, TO KENTUCKY, 1777-1800**

A Thesis

Presented to

**The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia**

In Partial Fulfillment

**Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts**

by

Wendy Ellen Sacket

1987

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the migration of pioneer settlers from the Valley of Virginia to Kentucky territory during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, their acquisition of Kentucky lands, and their contribution to the political movement which led to Kentucky statehood in 1792. The migration pattern and the statehood movement represented essentially new developments in American history. Migration to Kentucky occurred along the same route which had been responsible for earlier population growth in the southern backcountry of the Carolinas and Georgia, but for most Valley inhabitants, it was their second migration experience. The statehood movement was unique in that Kentucky was something of a testing ground for the debate on applying constitutional ideas and structure to a region which had never experienced a period of self-government as a colony, independent state, or territory. A key issue linking these two movements was the legitimacy of land acquisition and ownership. By using local records to trace individual immigrants, it is possible to investigate how ordinary settlers became Kentucky inhabitants and what role they played in the decision to separate from Virginia and become an independent state.

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CHAPTER I
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE, PURPOSE,
AND ORGANIZATION OF THE PRESENT STUDY

Moses Austin made the following observation about the immigrants he encountered on the Wilderness Road in 1796:

Ask these Pilgrims what they expect when they git to Kentuckey the Answer is Land. have you any. No, but I expect I can git it. have you any thing to pay for land, No. did you Ever see the Country. No but Every Body says its good land.¹

Perhaps their naive eagerness to join the Kentucky land rush is not so different from modern eagerness to catch the latest stock tip of a famous Wall Street broker. The immigrants' economic motivations were shared, to an extent, by surveyors, speculators, and settlers alike, who had interests in Kentucky from its discovery through its early statehood period. A variety of other motives also influenced their decision to possess Kentucky land, including an almost mystical craving for something new and unknown.² In determining the nature of the appetite for land and its explanatory power as a force behind Kentucky's development, it is necessary to review what previous historians have advanced as explanations and what alternatives they may have ignored or failed to emphasize.

The idea that land hunger was a powerful force behind the political, economic, and social development of Kentucky and the entire trans-Appalachian frontier is at least as old as Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, which has

persisted despite vigorous attempts to discredit its validity. Kentucky has often been a test case for identifying the propagation of American character and institutions predicted by Turner's paradigm. The existence of the frontier as "an area of free land" on the edge of older settlements attracted immigrants who brought their political, economic, and social customs with them, but learned to adapt these customs or create new ones better suited to the more primitive conditions of frontier life.³

Historians have had problems in testing Turner's thesis because his terminology was so broad and imprecise that it allowed the term "frontier" to mean almost anything. In addition to defining a geographic division between civilized settlements and primitive wilderness, Turner's thesis postulated an economic division between an area of diverse commercialism and one of self-sufficiency and subsistence. These divisions did not precisely coincide with the fixed line represented by the Appalachians. Perhaps this imprecision was a virtue rather than a fault, since "it has stimulated more discussion and investigation than any clear statement ever could have."⁴

One of the most significant works that challenged Turner's thesis in the Kentucky context was Thomas Perkins Abernethy's Western Lands and the American Revolution. He acknowledged the work Clarence W. Alvord had done on British Imperial administration of the Mississippi Valley, but noted that few historians had paid much attention to the political

aspects of frontier development on the western waters. In his study of western lands, Abernethy felt that the most politicized form of land acquisition was land speculation, since "it affected the policies of Congress and of the various States, and even diplomacy came within the scope of the land speculator."⁵ Although he claimed to have no intention of condemning these speculators, Abernethy viewed their activities with the intent of showing how private economic interest affected political policies. By intimating that eastern speculators had greater influence over national politics, Abernethy substituted speculators for pioneers as the group most responsible for shaping national policy. This substitution left a great deal of Turner's thesis unchallenged.⁶

Ray Allen Billington, a disciple of Turner, presented the Kentucky experience as supporting Turner's frontier concept and clarified the definition of frontier as "a series of westward-migrating zones" representing different stages of the transition from primitive to civilized society.⁷ Billington characterized the frontier types which emerged in these stages as ranging from fur traders, to cattlemen, to pioneer farmers who cleared the land and continued to move to the edge of settlement, to equipped farmers who had enough capital to cultivate lands in permanently settled areas, and, finally, to urban pioneers who had service occupations as blacksmiths, millers, tavern owners, and so on.

Because Billington's model was designed to apply to the western frontier throughout American history, it did not perfectly describe conditions in Kentucky. He placed speculators in the last category of urban pioneers, even though their activities affected frontier development long before cattlemen, pioneer farmers, or equipped farmers ever arrived. Billington corrected what he saw as an overstatement of Turner's claim that the frontier was the source of American democratic concepts, however, by noting instead that the frontier "consistently imitated the most liberal examples provided by the East." ⁸ For Billington, Kentucky was an excellent example of the way that frontier conditions and transported people and institutions mutually transformed each other.

Another historian who supported this Turnerian interpretation was John D. Barnhart in his work, Valley of Democracy: The Frontier versus the Plantation in the Ohio Valley, 1775-1818. As his title implies, Barnhart altered Billington's model of several contiguous frontiers by focusing on the competition between two models, the frontier and the plantation. Although he refuted much of Abernethy's interpretation, Barnhart's use of these competing models and their accompanying economic distinctions between pioneers and aristocrats made their arguments seem quite similar. In taking issue with Abernethy's emphasis on the role of speculators in Kentucky politics, Barnhart argued that the speculators' activities led to the economic frustration of

the pioneers, whose "hope of remedying frontier grievances" motivated frontier efforts to emulate the democratic institutions of the East. Somehow Barnhart's refutation of Abernethy managed to stand Turner's argument for the source of frontier democracy on its head.⁹

While acknowledging some debts to Turner, Arthur K. Moore departed from both Turner and other frontier historians in his analysis of the cultural and intellectual traditions of the Kentucky frontier. Moore detected weaknesses in the models presented by previous scholars, and noted that although they had come to "emphasize the multiplicity of factors involved in the westward movement," most had failed to devise an inclusive model and still favored Turner's theory, which was "nothing if not exclusive."¹⁰ In presenting what he felt was a more accurate model, Moore emphasized the role of the frontier as a mythical paradise, the Garden of the West. According to Moore, Kentucky was not only "a particular geographical location but also an ideal condition founded in long-standing myth." Instead of Turner's self-reliant pioneers free from the dominance of European forms and concepts, Moore emphasized that this rejection of the past took place within the context of an ancient search for paradise, and that this ambivalence shaped the behavior of Kentuckians and all subsequent frontiersmen.¹¹

More recent scholarship on Kentucky and the trans-Appalachian frontier has attempted to produce "more systematic studies"¹² primarily focused on the evolution of

institutions. In her book, The Partisan Spirit: Kentucky Politics, 1779-1792, Patricia Watlington has examined the development of political movements in Kentucky's early history and has shown that political divisions were more complicated than Barnhart's aristocratic planters versus pioneer farmers model described them. Not only did Watlington find traces of a third party which divided the planters into what she terms a court-country split, but she also argues that the three parties reversed their original positions on the question of statehood separate from
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 Virginia.

Malcolm J. Rohrbough also discusses the evolution of Kentucky politics in his book, The Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775-1850, but chooses to trace this evolution through the creation of local government in the form of the county court, justices of the peace, clerks, sheriffs, and surveyors. In this way, Rohrbough recognizes the way the frontier borrowed the institutional forms of the East but molded them to suit frontier needs and conditions. He relies on Billington's concept of mutual transformation, but he emphasizes the transitions made toward more complex institutions rather than the transitions made from one type of frontiersman to another. Although Watlington and Rohrbough represent different ends of the scale in terms of the breadth of their studies, they both attempt to update the interpretation of

Kentucky's frontier experience through the developments and discoveries they feel have been the most significant.¹⁴

Many of these historians of early Kentucky have focused on speculators, Virginia gentry immigrants, and Kentucky's political and commercial ties to Virginia in their attempts to modify or refute Turner's paradigm, but most of these historians have chosen to include the anonymous mass of ordinary settlers through the use of representative figures, such as Daniel Boone or Benjamin Logan, who conveniently disappear from sight as if they were part of Turner's vanishing frontier. Did these pioneer settlers surrender their political allegiance to the socially and economically superior planter-magistrates who migrated later, and did the difficulty in establishing land claims make this surrender somehow inevitable? Or does this scenario ignore the contributions which ordinary settlers continued to make throughout the early history of Kentucky? In order to understand the significance of ordinary settlers in these circumstances, it is necessary to consult what previous historians have said about this group's role in Kentucky's early development.

* * *

Kentucky lands attracted the covetous eyes of land speculators during the first half of the eighteenth century. During the 1740s, several competing groups of speculators formed land companies that vied for support from the representatives of imperial government, particularly the

governor and assembly of Virginia. These companies received grants for more than two and a half million acres of western land, but their schemes were thwarted by the British government's Proclamation of 1763, which barred permanent white settlement beyond the Appalachians. Even when treaties with the Iroquois Confederacy in 1768 and with the Cherokees soon after seemed to remove all Indian claims to Kentucky, most land companies had relatively minor success in establishing their claims or controlling the new flow of settlers to the region. Land companies continued to wield considerable influence over the political question of sovereignty in the West and used this influence throughout the period of expansion. Their greatest contribution was the organization of surveying expeditions, which mapped out potential sites for settlement.

The first permanent settlements were not established until the eve of the Revolution. These settlements were self-governing, but their vulnerability to Indian attack and their desire to gain official recognition of their claims led them to seek stronger ties with neighboring colonies. Members of the Transylvania Company, a group of speculators and immigrants from North Carolina led by Richard Henderson, challenged Virginia's claim to Kentucky by adopting a preliminary constitution and lobbying in the Continental Congress for recognition as a new proprietary colony. Virginia delegates defeated Henderson's scheme, and in December, 1776, the Virginia Assembly officially asserted

its Jurisdiction by incorporating the western settlements into Kentucky County. In doing so, Virginia not only allowed for Kentucky representation in the General Assembly, but also appointed several militia officers to organize Kentucky's defense. These actions created a semblance of security that encouraged further immigration, enabling settlements to survive the war.¹⁶

The next step in cementing Virginia's ties with Kentucky came in 1777, when the legislature passed an act which provided that titles to western lands would be free to settlers who had arrived in Kentucky before June 1, 1776. In order to limit this provision of free land to genuine settlers, the legislature required that some improvement, such as raising corn or building a cabin, had to have been made to the land. This promise of free land lured other immigrants who hoped the act's provisions would be extended to those settling after 1776. The improvement requirement was simple enough to inspire others to travel to Kentucky just for the purpose of building a cabin or to hire a settler to build the cabin for them and thus establish their claim. This act, known as the "ancient cultivation law," not only reinforced the settlers loyalty to and reliance on Virginia, but also provided additional security from Indian attack.¹⁷

The fact that immigration to Kentucky boomed during the Revolution led to suspicions, then as now, that these settlers were "streaked with pro-British loyalism." Some of

those migrating from North Carolina and parts of Virginia, evicted or otherwise mistreated, were inclined to be loyalists. Loyalist sentiments, however, were not confined to these settlers alone. Those who had the arduous task of defending an exposed frontier were unhappy with the lack of support they received from Virginia and the Continental Congress and were unwilling to give their lives to save lands belonging to absentee owners. Men sharing these sentiments believed that English rule might bring protection from Indian attacks and might lead to a more equitable distribution of land to settlers. The most objective assessment of these settlers' sentiments would be that they were too busy protecting their lands and lives from redcoat or redskin attackers to be truly concerned about fighting¹⁸ over such abstract concepts as monarchy or republicanism.

Virginia modified the ancient cultivation law with a series of land laws in 1779. These new land laws were designed to correct some of the abuses that had occurred under the 1777 law and to generate funds from the sale of Kentucky lands to help finance Virginia's war expenses. Under the new laws, only settlers actually living in Kentucky could have their claims on lands improved before 1778 approved. Those who had settled in Kentucky between January, 1778, and January, 1779, were given the opportunity to preempt four hundred acres at the land office price of forty pounds per hundred acres. In addition to altering these settlement rights, the legislature allowed claims to

be made based on military bounties and direct purchase. Land bounties encouraged military enlistment without requiring Virginia to promise payment in specie or paper currency, and direct purchase of treasury warrants provided a new source of revenue to fill dwindling state coffers. Although none of these warrants alone established clear title to a specific location, their value allowed them to be exchanged and circulated just like currency.¹⁹

A number of other provisions were designed to make the entire process of obtaining a land patent more orderly. The procedure included locating the land, entering the land by notifying the county surveyor of one's intent to claim the location described, paying for the actual survey, and delivering the resulting plat and certificate to the land office in Richmond. There were time limitations and fees which accompanied each step of the procedure, and failure to comply invalidated one's claim. The legislature granted various extensions of time and altered the fees required, but these changes made matters more confusing instead of helping settlers to establish their claims more easily. Rather than giving broader access to ownership, these provisions operated to favor those people who could most easily procure the services of a locator/surveyor and had the resources or connections to register warrants and surveyor's plats at the Richmond land office.²⁰

Although the legislature conceived this system to be more orderly than its previous land policy, the haphazard

overlapping of claims and subsequent litigation seem incredibly disordered to modern observers. The only law regulating the shape of surveys required that they should be at least one-third as wide as they were long. Most claimants established preliminary boundaries that avoided undesirable land features such as swamps, mountainous slopes, and rock outcroppings, so the resulting claims were hardly rectangular.²¹ The pattern of these claims has been metaphorically described by some historians as a "crazy quilt," and by others as "shingles on a roof" laid rather crookedly.²² Yet these descriptions make the confusion sound deliberate. A contemporary description of the situation portrays it more as an accident of nature: surveyors "strewed the locations over the face of the country as autumn distributes its falling leaves, heedless of those which had previously fallen . . . destitute of design . . . regardless of consequences."²³ Whatever the motivation, the consequent litigation over these overlapping claims tended²⁴ "to enrich the lucky and impoverish the unfortunate."

In their efforts to dramatize the damaging effects of this uncertainty over land titles and the resulting litigation, some historians have tended to exaggerate the villainy of the planter aristocrats who enlarged their holdings at the expense of numerous ordinary settlers. Certainly many ordinary settlers did lose ownership of their land due to their ignorance of the laws or their inability to match the monetary and legal resources of the wealthier

planters, but to depict these settlers as mortified victims of misappropriation, eviction, or forced tenancy distorts the situation.

Tenancy was not so onerous as it may seem, since rent expenses were usually covered by income from harvests and landlords were responsible for the more costly land taxes. Many settlers had been tenants since their arrival and when their original landlord sold or lost his title, the new landlord was often quite willing to keep the tenants on. Other settlers were squatters on the edge of settlements who took advantage of preemption rights or chose instead to move to vacant military reserves. Those who proved their claims in front of the Virginia Land Commission, which held sessions in the various Kentucky stations and settlements from 1779-1780, were spared some of the expenses which later settlers incurred in obtaining warrants in Richmond. Even though the wealthy planters amassed numerous warrants and filed entries on most of the prime lands, even the "second- or third-rate smaller farms" held by ordinary settlers were an improvement over the lands they could have obtained in
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the East.

It would be false to assume that all of the wealthy speculators with connections in the Virginia legislature were guilty of fraud and villainy in obtaining land. One consequence of the 1779 land law was that individuals who were purchasing Kentucky lands for speculation had to go through the same procedure to establish title but could only

enter their treasury warrants after settlers and soldiers had entered their claims. Since it was difficult for Virginia residents to locate lands themselves and equally difficult for Kentucky residents to obtain warrants and file for certificates in Richmond, many speculators worked²⁶ in pairs or teams, often within a family.

An excellent example of this sort of family partnership in speculation can be found in John Marshall and his father, Colonel Thomas Marshall. From his Richmond residence, John Marshall was aware of current legislation affecting land claims, had access to the land office, and had easy access to warrants, mainly from Virginians who trusted Marshall and his father to make good entries. Thomas Marshall's position as surveyor for Fayette County, Kentucky, in 1780 gave him first-hand information about lands that were the most promising and eligible for entry. As Fayette County surveyor, he did incur the extra expense of having to enter claims for land in that county at the county court as well as in Richmond. On the other hand, the Marshalls' combined expertise clearly helped them avoid the legal expenses of contested claims, since no caveats are known to have been²⁷ filed against John Marshall's Kentucky grants.

John Marshall's uncontested claims were a rarity, however, and litigation and complaints to Richmond increased after the 1779 land laws were passed. Many settlers were dissatisfied with the limitation of the settlement grants to four hundred acres and some settlers who arrived after 1779

were angry that they were expected to pay for preemption rights when earlier settlers received grants and speculators could purchase warrants on credit. Others chose to petition the Continental Congress, hoping to obtain permission to settle in enemy territory north of the Ohio River where Virginia laws would not regulate their landholdings.

Virginia responded to these charges of insensitivity to conditions in Kentucky by subdividing the existing county in 1789 into three new counties, Fayette, Lincoln, and Jefferson, in order to improve local government and defense. In 1783, Virginia had created a judicial district and court which was supposed to act as a Supreme Court, but primarily²⁸ was responsible for handling land claims litigation.

The creation of additional county and district courts did ease some of the legal expenses incurred by settlers, but it also encouraged the influx of lawyers, judges, and other officeholders who competed for available Kentucky lands. These professional men had political ambitions that led them to migrate and settle as planters in Kentucky. Those with judicial appointments were determined to buy lands with the proceeds from their salaries, and those who acted as court attorneys hoped to purchase their land with fees collected through private practice as well. Although early court salaries were unattractive due to the small amount of revenue generated from fines, the boom in litigation made private practice very attractive, and court positions also improved over time. Members of this emerging

Virginia-born gentry considered themselves to be the ²⁹
 natural choice to assume control of Kentucky government.

It is difficult to categorize the reaction of ordinary settlers to these gentry immigrants as either deferential or hostile. Historians have argued persuasively on both sides of this issue. Settlers who had fought vigorously to protect Kentucky from hostile invaders during the Revolution were understandably antagonistic toward wealthy newcomers who were taking up residence on lands they had not defended. Abernethy put the case most strongly when he stated that there was "evidence of overt class antagonism in Kentucky which had not come to the surface on any earlier frontier of Virginia, and which was not inevitably a product of ³⁰ frontier life." Yet competition for land was characteristic of frontier life, whether the foe took the form of Indian attackers or newly arrived gentry. In addition, the Revolution had raised important issues about who should rule, "not just in the political sense, but in the social ³¹ and economic sense, as well." The newly arrived gentry also claimed to share these Revolutionary ideals, and thus seemed to be fit leaders. Frontiersmen needed able government to provide stability and security, and traditional deference at least seemed tolerable when prominent men spoke out in ³² support of liberal suffrage and representation.

Watlington, the Kentucky historian who accords the ordinary people with the most independent political voice,

notes that when traditional deference came in conflict with settlers' immediate concerns, such as defense and transportation, these concerns won out. Yet she also notes that it is difficult to identify individual settlers within this group, and that their political motives were not necessarily tied to long-range goals. When examining their impact on the decision to separate from Virginia, Watlington says that the people's apathy on the subject makes it "impossible to follow the turns of their thought, nor is their thought an important part of the story." ³³ Is the task really impossible or does it require some detective work? Recent developments in social history have given historians the tools to track down and identify the seemingly unremarkable men who constituted this group, and to make some connections between their economic status and their recorded attitudes in order to define the nebulous terms "middling" or "ordinary." Careful use of a variety of primary source materials makes this identification possible.

* * *

One way of identifying these people is to determine where they migrated from. Historical studies of migration patterns have been one of the offshoots of the larger interest in demographics and community studies of early America. The migration studies which have been published do not really form a cohesive body of work, possibly because of their small number. Part of the difficulty in examining migration patterns thoroughly is the absence of a full

range of records that would provide conclusive proof of an individual's movement. This dearth of records may be misleading, however. Interest in migration studies has generally been focused on the questions of persistence and mobility as they relate to established communities, and this perspective makes the data gleaned from linking tax lists, land grants, church records, and genealogies seem incomplete for answering questions about the proportion of the population involved, the miles traveled from point of origin, and the range of destinations possible.³⁴

Another vantage point for conducting a migration study might be to focus on records from both the point of origin and the point of destination in a known migration pattern in order to determine the persistence and change in the attitudes and behavior of the migrants. This model has had fruitful results in examining the transmission of culture from England to the colonies. In addition to using this type of research to reconstruct communities or reconstitute families, it is possible to use migration studies to reconstruct the profile of a specific group of people in order to shed light on their beliefs and behavior.³⁵

One point of origin for the migration of numerous Kentucky settlers was the Valley of Virginia. The Shenandoah Valley was the main corridor through which immigrants traveled on their way to Kentucky, and it is not surprising that it also contributed many settlers to the westering movement. Historians have noted the contribution

that these Valley pioneers made to the development of Kentucky, but their conclusions as to the exact nature of the contribution are varied. Some have noted the economic, social, ethnic, and religious distinctions between these "Cohees" of the Valley and the "Tuckahoes" of the Tidewater and the Valley inhabitants' more immediate experience with frontier conditions; others have portrayed Valley emigres as emulating the tidewater aristocracy by recreating their "second-hand image in Kentucky."³⁶ Perhaps the most persuasive argument for using the Valley as the point of origin for a migration study is the existence of tithables lists, delinquent returns records, court records, and genealogical information for Valley inhabitants, particularly in Augusta County, that allow one to identify individuals and trace their migration to Kentucky.³⁷

As for information about these immigrants once they arrived at the Kentucky destination, there are numerous records. Two volumes published by the Filson Club contain an exhaustive compilation of the names, acreage, and location of land grants in Kentucky from the earliest grants under Virginia jurisdiction in 1779 through those registered in Kentucky up to 1924. The reprint edition of Volume 21 of the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society contains land certificates granted by the Virginia Land Commission of 1779-1780. These certificates are duplicates of some of the early grants listed in Filson Club Publication No. 34, but reproduce the exact entries containing information about

the individuals who filed for friends or neighbors, the date when these individuals first settled and improved their lands, the names of previous owners and neighbors, and the physical description of the location. All of these sources enable one to identify Valley immigrants to Kentucky and to hazard a guess at their economic status according to the amount of land they acquired. This information is vital for defining the qualifications for being a middling or
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 ordinary settler.

Another fruitful source of information about ordinary settlers is the collection of petitions from inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia. Many of these petitions have been compiled in Filson Club Publications No. 27, and additional petitions may be found in manuscript form at the Virginia State Library. These petitions not only contain the names of signers that can be linked to names from the grants and tithables lists, but also contain clues to the political issues and grievances that settlers were concerned about and felt should be addressed by the Virginia legislature. Although many of the petitions deal with issues such as the creation of new counties, the creation or subdivision of town sites, the establishment of small-scale manufactures and transportation links, and compensation for services rendered to the county or district, all of the petitions include some information about the political mood in Kentucky from 1776 to 1792. Most of the unpublished petitions have been abstracted and the signatures indexed

by Silas Emmett Lucas, Jr., in the reprint edition of the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society's 1923 volume containing the Virginia Land Commission's certificate book, which also facilitates the linking of names between these sources.
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Although these ordinary settlers have not left collections of letters in the same quantities as many of the wealthy planters have, there are some important memoirs and interviews that give a fuller picture of settlers' lives and attitudes. Some memoirs have been edited and reprinted as journal articles, particularly in the Filson Club Historical Quarterly, the Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, and the Mississippi Valley Historical Review. Several interviews with early settlers conducted by the Reverend John D. Shane have been preserved as part of the Draper Collection's CC series of manuscripts available on microfilm. Although these interviews were recorded in the early nineteenth century and are not strictly contemporary in origin, they do capture the flavor of pioneer life. Journal accounts and genealogical sketches also contain important references to daily affairs, family and neighborhood connections, and reactions to Virginia and local events and politics.
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There are valuable insights to be gained from the observations of outsiders who came in contact with these ordinary settlers. Several of the most prominent members of the Virginia-born gentry corresponded with their families

and close friends who had remained in Virginia, and they referred to the role of the ordinary settler in Kentucky. The Virginians who received these letters often had speculative interests in Kentucky, or were keen political⁴¹ observers who kept abreast of events in Kentucky.

The newspaper editorials and exchanges in the Kentucky Gazette, founded in 1787, chart the various shades of public opinion in regard to political grievances and reasons for supporting or opposing statehood. The Kentucky Gazette seems to have taken the place of petitions in generating public awareness at this time, and although the identities of some of the authors are unknown, their pieces do present a wide spectrum of views and show the kind of debate that probably circulated through word of mouth and⁴² broadsides which have not survived.

Used together, all these sources provide the necessary information to construct a collective biography of the Valley families who migrated to Kentucky and the cultural baggage they transported with them. The tenuous security and unsettled atmosphere of the frontier encouraged ordinary settlers to challenge the traditional order when it hindered their pursuit of property, economic well-being, and happiness. The "beehive of activity that characterized local politics in Kentucky during its early history had plenty of room for the contributions of ordinary settlers, and it only requires a little digging and a lot of perseverance to reconstruct their role and determine their⁴³ impact on Kentucky institutions.

CHAPTER TWO
MIGRATION FROM AUGUSTA COUNTY, VIRGINIA, TO KENTUCKY,
1777-1800: A PROSOPOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

Located near the headwaters of both the Potomac and James rivers and along the Great Wagon Road leading from Philadelphia to the southern backcountry, Augusta County was both a destination and a midpoint for immigrants during much of the eighteenth century. The county was established by Virginia's colonial legislature in 1738 to encompass most of the colony's territorial claims west of the Blue Ridge Mountains and gradually was subdivided to the point where its political boundaries coincided with the geographic center of the Shenandoah Valley. Its location on the Virginia frontier makes Augusta County an excellent point of origin for studying migration to Kentucky.

In order to determine the number of Augusta County residents who migrated to Kentucky, it is necessary to consult the annual tithables lists that recorded the number of residents in the county by militia company. The most complete group of tithable lists for Augusta County are for the year 1777. Eight manuscript lists at the Virginia State Library contain the tithables assessed in 24 of the 46 militia companies in Augusta County in 1777. For the 1,418 names of heads of households listed, a total of 2,184¹ tithables were assessed.

Periodic boundary changes complicate the problem of determining the number of individuals who removed from Augusta County. In 1777, Augusta encompassed the southern portion of the Shenandoah Valley, known as the upper valley, from the Fairfax line to the Botetourt County line near the forks of the James River, including land as far west as the Greenbrier River in what is now West Virginia. The following year, 1778, the county was divided into three sections. Rockingham was created in the north with a county seat at Harrisonburg and Rockbridge was created in the south with a county seat at Lexington, leaving Augusta centered² on the original county seat at Staunton. This division causes some difficulties in determining those who removed, since many whose names were absent from the published lists for four of the militia companies in 1782 may have been on missing lists or may have become residents of the two new counties in 1778. From the list of Augusta County militia companies in which tithables were to be taken in 1778, it appears that members of 12 of the 24 companies from the manuscript lists persisted as residents within the new boundaries of Augusta County. Names on the list of Rockingham County Justices for 1778 indicate that members of the other 12 militia companies were residents within the³ new Rockingham boundaries.

Instead of tracing the names of those who disappeared over time from the few extant tithables lists, it is simpler to trace people whose names were recorded on the

relatively complete 1777 tithables lists through the published records of Augusta County in order to find evidence of their removal to Kentucky. The delinquent tax lists are particularly helpful in listing names and destinations of those who removed, and records from court cases and wills also provided information about people who removed to Kentucky. This method produced 52 people who were reported as delinquent to, removed to, or resident in Kentucky between 1779 and 1808.⁴ (Table 1)

In analyzing the names, it is clear that some would have to be eliminated. Some names, such as John Campbell, appeared on more than one tithables list and thus are too common to associate with a single individual who removed to Kentucky. Others, such as William Hogshead, have virtually no information in the Kentucky records to confirm their arrival and settlement in Kentucky. There are 38 names left after these names are eliminated. (Table 2)

After identifying these individuals, it is important to determine how representative they were of the Augusta population they left behind. The location of their landholdings, their economic status based on their tithables and acreage, and the public offices they held provide some of the information that can help answer this question. Another related question is whether these individuals were connected with each other or with other Augusta residents who also removed to Kentucky and therefore could be considered an identifiable group predisposed to remove to Kentucky.

TABLE ONE: AUGUSTA COUNTY RESIDENTS WHO REMOVED TO KENTUCKY, 1779-1808

Name	Date of Removal	Militia Company
William Hinds	1779 delinquent, 1789 in Ky.	Henderson/Anderson/Moffett
William Monger	1780 or before	Frazier/Pence/Nall
William Henderson	1780 removed, 1786 & 1794 delinquent	Captain
Joshua Humphreys	1781 delinquent, 1789 Ky. traveler	Thompson/Johnston/Smith
John Black Jr.	1782 delinquent	B/L/Y, S/H/H
Joseph Smith	1782 delinquent	Cravens/Stephenson/Hopkins
William Anderson Jr.	1782 delinquent, w/Trimbles, Moffetts	Henderson/Anderson/Moffett
William Allen	1783 w/Capt. James Trimble	Buchanan/Long/Young
William Young	1784 & 1792 delinquent	Frazier/Pence/Nall, 3 H/A/M
William McDowell	1784 no inhabitant, 1799 in Danville	Smith/Harrison/Hewitt
Robert Curry	1784 non-resident, 1792 delinquent	2 Henderson/Anderson/Moffett
James Trotter	1784 w/wife Margaret & Martha Downey	Cunningham/McCutchen/Tate
John Ritchie/Richey	1784 to Ga., 1786 gone, 1806 Cumberland	C/McC/T, H/A/M
Samuel Trotter	1785 delinquent	Henderson/Anderson/Moffett
Andrew McClure	1786 delinquent	Thompson/Johnston/Smith
Andrew Moody Sr.	1786 delinquent	Henderson/Anderson/Moffett
Henry (Hennly) Nall	1786 delinquent	Frazier/Pence/Nall
William Finley	1787 removal, 1801 delinquent	2 Thompson/Johnston/Smith
Robert Campbell	1790 delinquent	Henderson/Anderson/Moffett
Robert McKittrick Sr.	1790 delinquent	Henderson/Anderson/Moffett
William Campbell	1790 delinquent w/Jno	C/McC/T, F/P/N, S/H/H, C/S/H
John Campbell	1790 delinquent, w/Wm	T/J/S, B/L/Y, 2 H/A/M
William Hook	1790 delinquent, w/R. Campbell	Smith/Harrison/Hewitt
Christopher Graham	1791 delinquent	Thompson/Johnston/Smith
William McClintock	1792 delinquent	Buchanan/Long/Young
Robert Young	1792 delinquent	Henderson/Anderson/Moffett
William Hogshead	1793 about to remove	Henderson/Anderson/Moffett
Matthew Patton	1793 about to remove	Davis/Skidmore/Teeters
James Kerr Jr.	1793 in Lexington w/R. Campbell	Buchanan/Long/Young
James Curry	1794 delinquent	Cravens/Stephenson/Hopkins
John Ray/Wray	1794 in Ky.	Smith/Harrison/Hewitt
Alexander McPheeters	1795 about to remove w/Jane	Buchanan/Long/Young
John Scott	1795 delinquent	Buchanan/Long/Young
James Bell	1795 delinquent, w/brother John	T/J/S, 3 B/L/Y, C/S/H
Uriah Garten	1795 removed w/Robert Ralston	Cravens/Stephenson/Hopkins
William Martin	1797 delinquent, w/Andrew Kennedy	Smith/Harrison/Hewitt
James Stephenson	1797 delinquent	Davis/Skidmore/Teeters
James Ewing	1797-1800	2 Cunningham/McCutchen/Tate
James McCleary	1798 in Fayette Co.	Cunningham/McCutchen/Tate
James Moffett	1799 about to remove	Cunningham/McCutchen/Tate
James Buchanan	1799 in Fayette Co.	Thompson/Johnston/Smith
James Dickey	1799 of Woodford Co.	Henderson/Anderson/Moffett
Samuel Steele	1800 delinquent	C/McC/T, T/J/S
Nicholas Curry	1800 in Ky.	Cravens/Stephenson/Hopkins
James Callison Jr.	1802 delinquent	Cunningham/McCutchen/Tate
David Laird Jr.	1802 delinquent	Smith/Harrison/Hewitt
John Shields	1802 delinquent	2 Cunningham/McCutchen/Tate
Abel Griffith	1802 of Madison Co.	Cravens/Stephenson/Hopkins
John McClure	1803 delinquent	T/J/S, C/S/H
James Brown	1805 in Lexington	T/J/S, B/L/Y
John Phillips	1806 in Ky.	Sr & Jr in S/H/H, other in B/L/Y
Jacob Smith	1808 of Clark Co.	Davis/Skidmore/Teeters

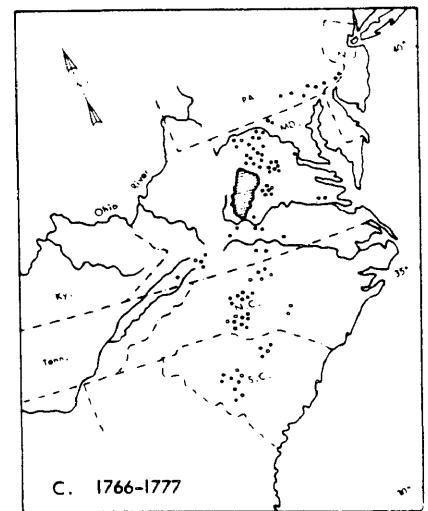
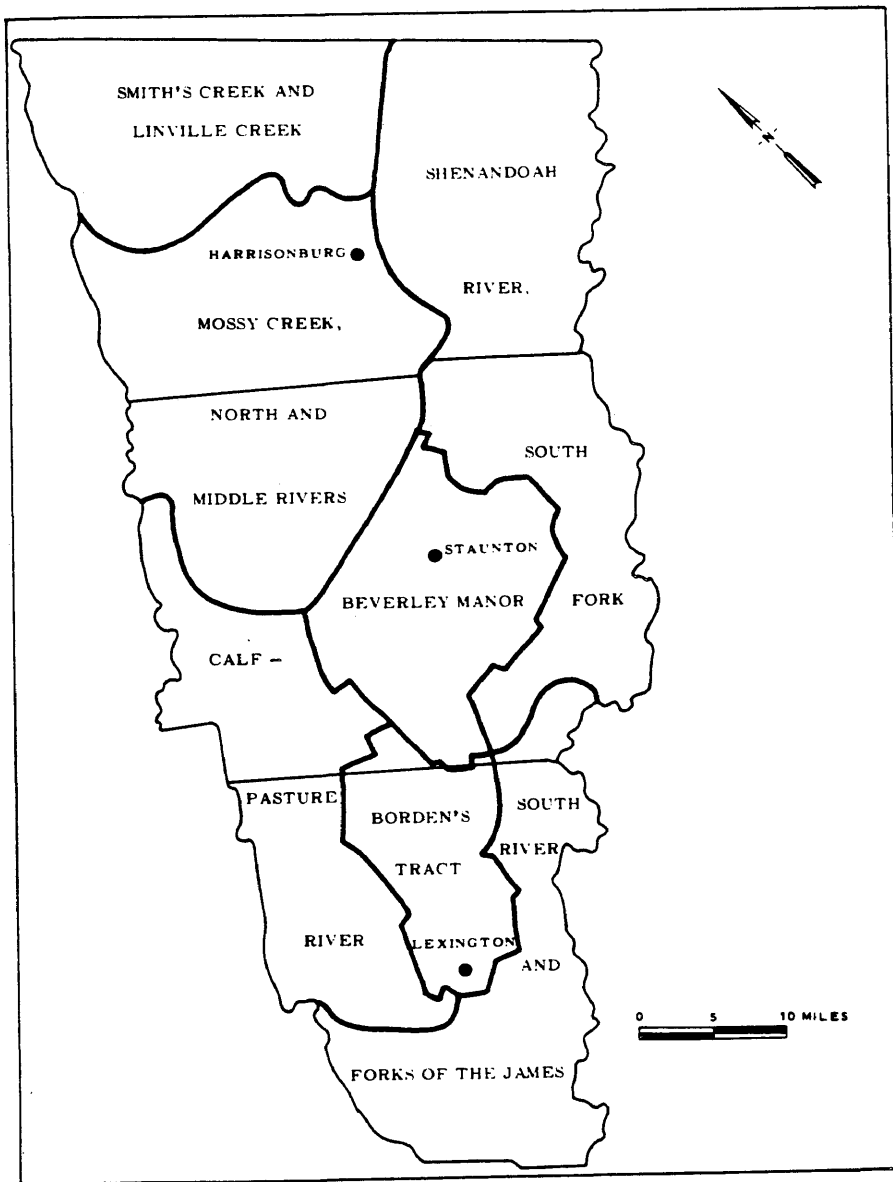
TABLE TWO: LOCATION OF ACREAGE HELD BY AUGUSTA TITHABLES KNOWN TO HAVE REMOVED TO KENTUCKY

NAME	TITHES/ACRES	REGION
William Allen	1/127	Christian's Cr., Middle R.
William Anderson	1/0	father in Beverley Manor
James Buchanan	1/0	father in Beverley Manor
Robert Campbell Jr.	1/255	Bev. Manor near Borden's
James Curry	1/170	Beverley Manor
Nicholas Curry	1/0	Linville's Cr.
Robert Curry	1/400, 1/135	N. River & Skidmore's Camp
James Dickey	1/158	Naked Cr.
James Ewing	1/0, 3/252	Beverley Manor
William Finley Jr.	3/380	Beverley Manor
Uriah Garten	1/154	N. River?
Christopher Graham	1/0	Christian's Cr.
Abel Griffith	2/506	Long Glade
William Henderson	1/0, 1/380	Christian's Cr.
William Hinds	1/0	father on branch of N. River
William Hook	1/--	father on Mill Cr. of S. River
Joshua Humphreys	5/0.25	Staunton
James Kerr Jr.	1/250	Christian's Cr.
David Laird Jr.	1/--	N. River
James McCleary	1/200	Middle R.
William McClintock	2/604	Beverley Manor
Andrew McClure	3/265	Beverley Manor, Long Meadow
William McDowell	3/--	Staunton
Robert McKittrick	1/420	Jenning's Gap
Alexander McPheeters	3/300	Christian's Cr.
William Martin	1/--	Christian's Cr.
William Monger	1/470	N. side of Shenandoah
James Moffett	1/200	Moffett's Branch
Andrew Moody Sr.	1/25	N. side of S. Branch
Matthew Patton	5/0	Jackson's R./Vanderpole Gap
John Ray	1/--	Mill Cr. branch of Calfpasture
John Scott	1/0	Middle R.
Jacob Smith	1/130	Middle R.
Joseph Smith	3/0	father Dan'l on Muddy Cr.
James Stephenson	1/0	Little Calfpasture
James Trotter	3/384	Beverley Manor
Samuel Trotter	1/100	father James Sr in Bev. Manor
Robert Young	2/100	Falling Spring, Middle R.

Since the grouping of Augusta residents into militia companies was based on geographic proximity, it is easy to infer that individuals on the same tithables list were neighbors. However, there are some complications. First, there is no precise description of the geographic boundaries of the militia companies in 1777. In addition, the manuscripts for Daniel Smith's, Reuben Harrison's, and Thomas Hewitt's companies do not list acreage, and only the manuscripts for Patrick Buchanan's, Francis Long's, and John Young's companies list the members of each company separately. Therefore, it is necessary to approximate the location of the landholdings based on information in Augusta land deeds and wills and compare them to Map 1 of Augusta.

Several of those who removed had deeds to land in Beverley Manor, a 118,491-acre tract in the center of Augusta first patented by William Beverley. Robert Campbell Jr., James Curry, James Ewing Jr., James McCleary, Andrew McClure, James and Samuel Trotter all had lands in Beverley Manor by 1777. Those who were mentioned in Beverley Manor deeds or inherited lands there after 1777 include William Anderson, James Buchanan, William Finley Jr., William McClintock, and John Scott. William Allen, William Henderson, Alexander McPheeters, and William Martin had lands on Christian's Creek in Beverley Manor by 1777. Christopher Graham was mentioned in Christian's Creek deeds and James Kerr Jr. inherited lands there after 1777. Joshua Humphreys and William McDowell were merchants who owned

MAP ONE: REGIONS WITHIN AUGUSTA COUNTY, VIRGINIA, c. 1777



Upper Shenandoah Valley

Source: Robert D. Mitchell, Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley (Charlottesville, Va., 1977), p. 75.

portions of Staunton town lots in Beverley Manor by 1777.

Others who removed had lands near the North, Middle, and South river branches of the Shenandoah. Robert Curry, David Laird Jr., and Robert Young had lands on the North and Middle rivers by 1777 and William Hinds inherited his father John's lands on North River in 1781. James Dickey's lands on Naked Creek were located near Hinds's lands. Robert McKittrick's land in Jennings's Gap of North Mountain was located near Middle River and James Moffett's father George also had land in Jennings's Gap. Farther north in the area which later became part of Rockingham, Uriah Garten's father-in-law, Hugh Divier, had land on North River, and Jacob Smith had lands on Middle River by 1777. Joseph Smith inherited his father Daniel's lands on the Dry River branch of North River and Abel Griffith's lands in Long Glade were also located in this area. Nicholas Curry inherited his father John's lands on the south branch of Linville's Creek near Harrisonburg. Along the south branch of the Shenandoah near Augusta's eastern border, William Hook's father James and Andrew Moody Sr. had lands before 1777, and William Monger had lands to the north in the area which became part of Rockingham.

Farther to the west along the Calfpasture, Cowpasture, and Jackson's rivers, there were lands belonging to others who migrated. John Ray had lands on the Mill Creek branch of Calfpasture River in Augusta. James Stephenson's lands on Little Calfpasture River and Matthew Patton's lands on

Jackson's River were slightly north within the later
⁵
 boundaries of Rockingham.

Trying to determine whether those who removed were economically representative of the larger Augusta population can be done using statistics. As seen in Table Three, the median tithable for those who removed was one and the median acreage (excluding the five individuals on the lists for Smith's, Harrison's, and Hewitt's companies) was 130. Comparable statistics for the 1777 tax lists (excluding the members of the same three militia companies) give a median tithable of one and a median acreage of 120. A comparison of these numbers should give an accurate measure of how representative the group who removed was of Augusta as a whole.

There are some problems, however, with using the acreage and tithables belonging to each individual to gauge their wealth. For instance, Joshua Humphreys's and William McDowell's partial town lots in Staunton were worth much more than land of comparable size elsewhere in Augusta. Additionally, many individuals in both groups who owned no land were not truly landless, since some were tenants on the lands they would eventually inherit from their parents. Using the median value for tithables helps compensate for the absence of non-tithable individuals (usually widows and the elderly) in the migrant group and for the presence of individuals such as Humphreys, whose additional tithables included four servants.

**TABLE THREE: MEDIAN VALUES FOR ACREAGE AND TITHABLES FOR ENTIRE
1777 TAX LIST (A) AND FOR REMOVALS (B)**

# Tithables/A	Frequency/A	# Tithables/B	Frequency/B	# Acres/A	Frequency/A	# Acres/B	Frequency/B
0	0	0	17	0	10	0	497
1	27	1	1,009	0.25	1	0.25	1
2	3	2	235	25	1	2.5	1
3	6	3	100	100	2	6.5	1
4	0	4	27	127	1	15	1
5	1	5	14	130	1	25	2
6	0	6	8	135	1	30	1
7	0	7	4	154	1	30.5	1
8	0	8	1	158	1	40	1
9	0	9	2	170	1	44	1
10	0	10	3	200	2	47	1
12	0	12	1	250	1	50	4
13	0	13	1	255	1	50.5	1
15	0	15	1	265	1	53	1
24	0	24	1	300	1	55	1
37	0	37	1	380	1	60	3
Total =	38	Total =	1,418	384	1	65	1
Median =	1	Median =	1	420	1	66	1
				470	1	67	1
				506	1	70	2
				604	1	72	2
				Total =	33	75	7
				Median =	135	76	1
						78	1
						80	2
						83	1
						87	2
						88	1
						90	5
						91	1
						94	1
						94.5	1
						95	1
						96	1
						97	1
						98	1
						100	40
						103	1
						105	2
						107	1
						110	3
						112	2
						113	3
						114	4
						116	1
						118	1
						120	6
					
						Total =	1,221
						Median =	120

Looking at how these thirty-eight men earned a living can also provide an insight into their economic status. Certainly the majority were farmers, but county records do reveal other clues about their employment. Joshua Humphreys's trade as a watch and clockmaker in Staunton makes it likely that his four servants were apprentices in his shop. William Allen was a stonemason and William Martin was appointed to teach the breech-making trade to an orphan bound to him. Abel Griffith received blacksmith's tools as a bequest from Samuel Anderson and James Kerr Jr's father James Sr. was also a blacksmith. James Trotter was identified as a weaver in the county court fee book for 1779. William McDowell was a merchant in Staunton with Hugh and Robert McDowell. Matthew Patton specialized in breeding cattle and helped provision the army during the Revolution. Individuals with these occupations could easily practice their trades in Kentucky, although Humphreys and McDowell would have been more likely to remove to Kentucky once an urban population had developed that could support their specialized trades.

Of the thirty-eight individuals who removed, about half held some form of public office while residing in Augusta County. Several were in military service during the Revolution. James Buchanan was mentioned as captain under Col. William Bowyer, John Scott was also a captain, William Anderson Jr. was lieutenant under Col. Sampson Mathews, and Robert Campbell Jr. was lieutenant under Capt. John Givens

In service declarations made by Revolutionary War veterans. Anderson later served as militia lieutenant in John McKittrick's company in 1782. William Allen was in military service in 1779 according to Augusta court records and became a militia lieutenant in 1782.

The most numerous group includes those who were officers in the county militia before, during, and after the Revolution. Matthew Patton and Robert Curry were militia captains in 1768 and 1774 respectively. Christopher Graham was lieutenant in Capt. Zachariah Johnston's company in 1777, William Henderson was captain of his own company in 1777 and was replaced by John Dickey in 1780 due to his removal to Kentucky, Joseph Smith was second lieutenant in Capt. Robert Cravens's company in 1779, William Finley replaced Robert Thompson as militia captain in 1780, and James Trotter Jr. replaced John Cunningham as captain in 1782. After the war, Capt. James Trotter Jr. was replaced by David Trotter in 1784 and Capt. William Finley was replaced by James Frazier in 1787 due to their removal to Kentucky. James Kerr Jr. was made an ensign in 1786 and James Moffett became captain of the 1st Regiment in 1789.

Another group of men held administrative offices. William McDowell and Joshua Humphreys were justices of the peace for Augusta in 1777. James Curry served as deputy clerk pro tem for the county in 1784. William Allen, Joshua Humphreys, and James Trotter Jr. served as tax commissioners and recorded tithables for the 1st Battalion, Thomas Smith's

company, and John Cunningham's and Samuel McCutchen's companies respectively. William Anderson Jr., Robert McKittrick, and William Martin served as road surveyors in the county.

Given the importance of these public offices, it is clear that the men who held them were well respected and influential in Augusta society. Being entrusted with the public good was a responsibility conferred on those who were most capable, regardless of whether the officeholder resided on the western frontier or in the long-settled tidewater region. Issues such as public defense, road construction and maintenance, tax assessment and collection, and local control of the county courts would continue to be important to these men after they had settled new lands in Kentucky.

As to the question of whether those who removed were acquainted with or related to other migrants to Kentucky, there is some evidence that they did settle near and stay in contact with each other. Because the journey was arduous and dangerous for families to complete, it was common for heads of families to scout out the prospects first and then return to bring their wives and children back with them. William Allen and William Anderson were mentioned as removing to Kentucky in company with Capt. James Trimble and his family, members of the Moffett family, and others in 1783-1784. Christopher Graham's brother James removed to Kentucky in 1781, ten years before Christopher removed. Samuel Trotter removed to Kentucky in 1785, one year after

his brother James Jr. removed there with his wife Margaret and his mother-in-law Martha Downey. Robert Campbell's and William Hook's depositions were needed in a court case before they removed to Kentucky in 1790. Some individuals made the journey with others from Augusta not included on Figure Two. Uriah Garten removed to Kentucky with Robert Ralston in 1795. William Martin visited Kentucky in the fall of 1796 with William Ray and removed there in 1797⁷ with Andrew Kennedy.

Some who removed had connections with other former Augusta residents who had settled in Kentucky. In 1786 before he removed to Kentucky, James Ewing purchased Lincoln County land from William Scott, formerly of Augusta. David Laird Jr. inherited Kentucky lands in 1799 that his late father had purchased from Robert Lamme, formerly of Augusta. In 1786, William McDowell was in Mercer County, Kentucky, and was a witness when Samuel Lapsley granted power of attorney to his brother Joseph, who was still in Virginia, to sell some Greenbrier property. In 1789, William Hinds was in Fayette County, Kentucky, and witnessed John Ralston's appointment of his brother William as attorney to sue for debts and sell his Virginia lands. In 1793, James Kerr Jr. was in Lexington, Kentucky, and was a co-defendant with Robert Campbell in a court case brought by John Dixon in Augusta. Robert Curry married Robert Young's daughter Sarah in 1791 before they all removed to Kentucky in 1792. Curry also witnessed Abel Griffith's will in Madison County,

Kentucky, in 1811. In 1808, Alexander McPheeters Jr. lived in Bourbon County, Kentucky, near his father Alexander Sr. and with his father-in-law Col. John Brown, formerly of Augusta.⁸

Although these connections show that former Augusta residents did stay in contact with each other in Kentucky, it would be difficult to prove that these connections alone predisposed or motivated them to remove to Kentucky. It is more plausible that ownership of or interest in Kentucky lands provided a common bond between these individuals that was supplemented by family, marriage, and neighborhood ties when making the decision to travel to and settle in Kentucky.

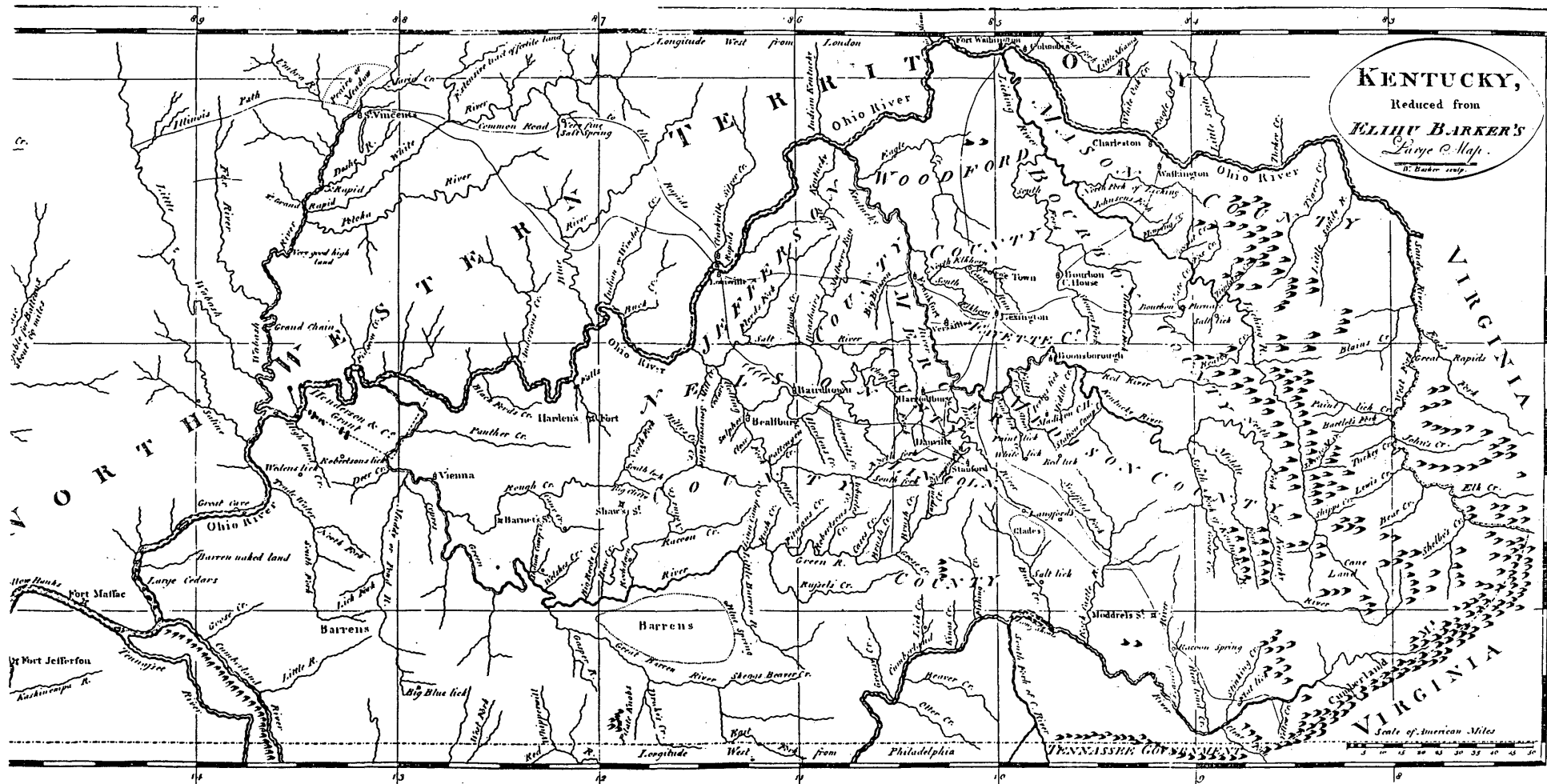
Evidence of these individuals' interest in Kentucky lands prior to removal can be found in land entry and deed records for Kentucky. Because many people reentered their original land warrants more than once, it is not accurate to add up all the acres they entered in order to determine the extent of their landholdings. Their first recorded land entries can be grouped by region according to the landmarks recorded on John Filson's 1784 map and Elihu Barker's 1793 map, both opposite. By comparing their first recorded land entries with the locations and counties where their subsequent entries were made, it is possible to get a general idea of where these thirty-eight people settled in Kentucky (see Table 4).

Of those who made entries at sessions of the Virginia Land Commission of 1779-1790, most established their claims

MAP TWO: JOHN FILSON'S MAP OF KENTUCKY, 1784



Source: Thomas P. Abernethy, Western Lands and the American Revolution (New York, 1937).



MAP THREE: ELIHU BARKER'S MAP OF KENTUCKY, 1793

Source: Thomas D. Clark, Historic Maps of Kentucky (Lexington, Ky., 1979).

TABLE FOUR: AUGUSTA SETTLERS' KENTUCKY LAND ENTRIES AND MILITARY WARRANTS, 1779-1807

William Allen:

1780: 400 on Dicks R., Fayette Co.; 1781: 200 on Salt R., 600 on Cedar Cr., Fayette Co.; 1783: 1,575 on S. Fk of Licking, Fayette Co.; 1784: 200 on Hardings Cr., 300 on Beech Fk, 500 on Sinking Cr., 400 on Beech Fk, 200 on Myers Preemption, Fayette Co.; 1786: 3,681.75 on Sandy Cr., 400 on Snake Cr., Fayette Co.

William Anderson Jr.:

1779: VLC patent for 400 on W. side of Hickmans Cr.; 1780: 2,000 on S. Fk of Licking, Jefferson Co.; 1783: 1,000 on Hickmans Cr., Jefferson Co.; 1784: military warrants 2337 for 100 for 3 yrs service, 2846 for 200 for duration of war, 2852 for 100 for 3 yrs service; 1788: 200 on Little Mt. Cr., Bourbon Co.

James Buchanan:

1780: 500 on Robinsons Cr., 1,000 on Robinsons Cr., Jefferson Co.; 1782: 50 on Two Mile Cr., 1,700 on Harrods Cr., Fayette Co.; 1783: 1,000 on branch of Licking, 400 on Strodes Fk of Licking, Fayette Co., 240 on Gists Cr., Jefferson Co.; 1784: 615 on Lower Blue Lick, 400 on Hughstons Fk, Fayette Co., 1,000 on Brashears Cr., Jefferson Co.; 1789: 1,733 on Pard Cr., Jefferson Co.; 1791: 167 on Ky. R., Mercer Co.

Robert Campbell:

1782: 1,000 on Big Bone Lick, 1,500 on Main Licking & N. Fk, Fayette Co.; 1785: 666.66 on ?, military entry (Lincoln Co.); 1786: 1,000 on Eagle Cr., 1,000 on Main Licking & Hinkson, Fayette Co.

James Curry:

1775: VLC patent for 1,400 on Salt R.; 1779: 400 on Chaplain Fk, Ky. Co.; 1780: 300 on his settlement, 700 on his settlement, Jefferson Co.; 1783: military warrant 348 for 4,000 for 3 yrs service as Capt.; 1784: 1,000 on Mississippi, 1,000 on Town Cr., 866.66 on Delaware Cr., 600 on Green R., 1,000 on Ohio R., 900 on Consolas Cr., military entries (Lincoln Co.); 1785: 1,000 on Trade Water, 1,000 on Highland Cr., Fayette Co., 9,376 on Hole Linn Cr., Jefferson Co., 1,000 on Goose Cr., military entry (Lincoln Co.); 1786: 10,000 on N. Fk of Ky. R., 10,781 on N. Fk of Ky. R., Fayette Co.; 1788: 1,000 on N. Fk of Ky. R., 4,000 on Rock House Cr., 6,000 on N. Fk of Ky. R., 2,097 on N. Fk of Ky. R., 4,000 on N. Fk of Ky. R., 15,000 on Buckhorn (Elkhorn?), 584 on N. Fk of Ky. R., Bourbon Co.; 1789: 9,000 on Cabbin Cr., Bourbon Co.

Nicholas Curry:

1775: 200 on ?, Ky. Co.

Robert Curry:

1800: 200 on Cypress Cr., Henderson Co.; 1806: 400 on Tradewater, Henderson Co.

James Dickey:

1782: 1,500 on Main Licking & N. Fk, Fayette Co.; 1785: 800 on S. Fk of Licking, Fayette Co.; 1788: 200 on Coopers Cr. (w/ Jno. Dickey), Bourbon Co.

James Ewing:

1807: 100 on Big Mud Cr., Logan Co.

William Findley:

1783: 2,828 on Bear Cr., Jefferson Co.; 1785: 1,000 on ?, Jefferson Co.

Uriah Garten:

1779: VLC patent for 400 on Haggins Trace N. of Ky. R. (preemption, certificate for 1,400 for Gaston)

Christopher Graham:

1780: 1,000 on Salt R., 1,500 on Salt R. (w/ others), Jefferson Co.; 1784: 1,500 on Clear Cr., Fayette Co.; 1785: 3,355.25 on Ohio R., Fayette Co.; 1791: 480 on Chaplains Fk, 1,000 on Beech Fk of Salt R., Nelson Co.

Abel Griffith:

1780: 300 on Hinkston Fk, Jefferson Co.; 1784: 300 on Hinkston Fk, 300 on Hinkston Fk, Fayette Co.

William Henderson:

1776: VLC patent for 1,400 on Flat Cr. branch of Licking; 1780: 400 on branch of Licking, 1,000 settlement on Licking, 400 on Coopers Run, Jefferson Co.; 1783: 11,351.5 on Ky. R., Fayette Co.; 1784: 5,500 on Ky. R., 2,275 on Ky. R. (his heirs), Fayette Co.; 1786: 100 on Green R., 100 on Goose Cr., military entries (Lincoln Co.); 1787: 100 on Pitman Cr., military entry (Lincoln Co.)

William Hinds:

Wm R. w/Thomas Hynes 800 on Rough Cr., 1798/ Hardin Co.

William Hook:

no entries; military warrant 3744 for Wm. Hooks for 100 acres for 3 yrs soldier Va. line

Joshua Humphreys:

1783: 4,769 on S. Fk of Licking, Fayette Co.; 1785: ? on Hickman Cr., Court of Appeals grantor (Richmond); 1791: 1,686 on Licking, 3,083 on Licking, Bourbon Co.

James Kerr (Jr):

1781: 535 on Harrods Run, Lincoln Co.; 1798: 11 on ?, Mercer Co.

David Laird:

1783: 636.25 on Cedar Lick Cr., Jefferson Co.; 1784: 1,000 on Robinsons Cr., Lincoln Co.

James McCleary: none

William McClintock: none

Andrew McClure:

1791: 700 on Bucks Cr., Court of Appeals (Lincoln Co.)

John McClure:

1774: 1,000 on Ky. R., Fincastle Co.; 1780: 1,000 on Middle Fk of Licking, Jefferson Co.; 1783: 1,236 on ?, 500 on ?, Fayette Co.; 1784: 1,000 on Jessamine Cr., 172.5 on Hingstons Fk of Licking, 655 on ?, 60 on Jessamine Cr., Fayette Co.; 1785: 200 on Drake Camp Cr., Lincoln Co.

William McDowell:

1782: 1,000 on E. branch of Licking, Lincoln Co.; 1786: 372.25 on ?, Lincoln Co.

Robert McKittrick: none

Alexander McPheeters: none

William Martin:

1783: military warrants 1151 for 200 for service on Va. line, 1307 for 200 for service on Va. line; no entries before 1799

James Moffett: none

William Monger:

1781: 300 on Green R., 200 on Green R., Lincoln Co.; 1784: 200 on Green R., Jefferson Co.

Andrew Moody (Sr): none

Matthew Patton:

1780: 1,000 on Fern Cr., Jefferson Co.; 1781: 550 on Nole Linn Cr., Jefferson Co.; 1783: 550 on Bacon Cr., 700 on Cartwright Cr., 550 on Fern Cr., 350 on Pleasant Run, 50 on Pleasant Run, 300 on Beech Fork, Jefferson Co.; 1784: 1,350.5 on ? (350 surveyed), 700 on Harrods Cr., 12,000 on ?, Jefferson Co., 1,115 on Lick Cr., Bullitt Co.

John Ray:

1780: 400 on Beech Fork, 688 on Beech Fork, Jefferson Co.; 1781: 3,400 on Rowling Fork, 1,200 on Salt R., 400 on Town Fork of Salt R., 400 on Lick Cr., 400 on Willsons Cr., 400 on Rowling Cr., Jefferson Co.; 1783: 400 on Bear Cr., 500 on Buffalo Cr., 1,344 on Rowling Fork, 155 on Lick Cr., 1,000 on Beech Fork, Jefferson Co.; 1784: 112 on Fromans Cr., 300 on Buffalo Cr., 688 on Buffalo Cr., 688 on Fromans Cr., 445 on Lick Cr., 4,744 on ?, 500 on Fromans Cr., Jefferson Co.; 1790: 635 on Lick Cr., Nelson Co.

John Scott:

1779: VLC patent for 400 on S side of Harrods Cr.; 1783: military warrants 1635 for 200 as soldier during war, 1884 for 4,000 in for 3 yrs. Capt. Lt.; 1784: 29,936 on Cumberland Mt., Fayette Co., military warrants 2548 for 100 for 3 yrs. soldier, 2609 for 2,666.66 for subaltern during war, 3187 for 2,666.66 for 3 yrs. subaltern, 3218 for 100 for 3 yrs. sailor Va. navy; 1785: 1,000 on Sandy Cr., 2,663 on Beaver Cr., military entry (Lincoln Co.); 1787: 18,520 on Big Sandy, Bourbon Co., 1,250 on Little Barren, military entry (Lincoln Co.)

Jacob Smith:

1783: military warrant 1453 for 100 for 3 yrs. soldier; 1785: 1,000 on Drennings Lick Cr., 400 on Drennings Lick Cr., Jefferson Co.

Joseph Smith:

1780: 4,000 on Rowling Fork, Jefferson Co., 400 on Dix R., Lincoln Co., 50 on Middle Fk of Licking, 1,000 on S Fk of Simpsons Cr, military entries (Lincoln Co.); 1781: 200 on Gilberts Cr., 1,250 on Rockcastle, 400 on Sugar Cr., 1,000 on Boones Mill Cr., Lincoln Co.; 1782: 400 on Boones Mill Cr., 250 on White Oak Cr., Lincoln Co.; 1783: 2,750 on Big Bone Cr., Fayette Co.; 1784: military warrant 3146 for 100 for 3 yrs. as soldier; 1785: 1,000 on Step Stone Cr., Fayette Co., 149 on Dix R., Lincoln Co.

James Stephenson:

1782: 500 on Mill Cr., Fayette Co., 500 on Cartrights Cr., Jefferson Co.; 1784: 300 on Licking, (Stevenson) Fayette Co., 971.25 on Harrods Fk (Stevenson), 400 on Floyds Fk, Jefferson Co.; 1785: 273.25 on ?, Fayette Co.

James Trotter:

1785: 1,828 on Licking, 1,740 on ?, Fayette Co.

Samuel Trotter: none

Robert Young:

1783: 25,000 on N. Fk of Licking, 5,000 on Licking Cr. (w/ Thomas), Fayette Co.; 1785: 1,000 on Ohio R., Fayette Co.

to land but did not permanently settle their lands until later. At Bryants Station in 1780, William Anderson claimed a preemption right to 400 acres on Hickmans Creek based on settlement in April 1779, but did not remove until 1782. In Harrodsburg in 1779, James Curry filed a claim to 1,400 acres on the Salt River near McAfee's Station based on improving the land in 1775 and raising a crop of corn in 1776, but he did not remove until 1794. Curry also had a 1783 military warrant for 4,000 acres due to his three years' service as captain. At Bryants Station in 1780, Uriah Garten claimed a preemption right to 400 acres on Haggins Trace near Trig's Station on the Kentucky River based on settlement in April 1779, but he didn't remove until 1795. In Harrodsburg in 1780, Joseph Carsweller filed John Scott's preemption claim for 400 acres near the mouth of Harrods Run north of the Kentucky River based on settlement in March 1779, but he did not remove until 1795. Although the entry does not appear in the Virginia Land Commission's certificate book, Nicholas Curry's claim for 200 acres in Kentucky County was dated 1775. That date was probably based on the year Curry first improved the land, not on the year he filed the claim or the year he settled in Kentucky. Unfortunately, his entry does not provide a river or other landmark that might distinguish its location or proximity to other settlers' land.

One individual may have removed to Kentucky in time to file his claim in person. Capt. William Henderson is

recorded as having removed in 1780, but it was Nathaniel Henderson who filed William's entry for 1,400 acres (settlement and preemption) near the salt lick on the Flat Creek branch of the Licking. This claim was based on William's raising a crop of corn in 1776, and was filed during the February 5, 1780 session of the commission at Harrodsburg.¹⁰

It is easier to present the land entries of the other migrants according to the river regions they settled. The Kentucky River and its branches constituted the largest region, stretching through all the original Kentucky counties of Fayette, Jefferson, and Lincoln. William Allen and Joseph Smith each filed 1780 entries for 400 acres on Dicks River, a southern branch of the Kentucky in Lincoln County. James Kerr's 1781 entry for 535 acres on Harrods Run was located farther north along the same branch near Harrodsburg in Jefferson County. In 1783, David Laird filed an entry for 636.25 acres on Cedar Lick Creek near the forks of the Dicks and Kentucky rivers in Jefferson County. Jacob Smith's 1785 entry for 1,400 acres on Drennings Lick Creek was located below the Eagle Creek branch on the Jefferson County side of the Kentucky near its mouth on the Ohio River. Both Joseph and Jacob Smith may have made their entries in part by using the 100-acre military warrants they received in 1784 and 1783, respectively, for three years' service in the Virginia line.¹¹

The Salt River and its tributaries were located in Jefferson County slightly south and west of the Kentucky River. Christopher Graham filed an entry for 1,000 acres on the Salt River in 1780. James Stephenson's 1782 entry of 500 acres on Cartwrights Creek was located south of Bairdstown near Chaplain's and Beech forks of Salt River. In 1780,¹² John Ray filed entries for 1,088 acres on Beech Fork.

The Licking River and its branches were located in Fayette County north of the Kentucky River. James Dickey filed an entry of 1,500 acres and Robert Campbell filed one for 1,000 acres on the North Fork of the Licking near the main branch in 1782. Robert Young also filed an entry on the North Fork for 25,000 acres in 1783. James Trotter's 1785 entry was for 1,828 acres on the Licking, probably north of its three forks. In 1782, William McDowell filed an entry for 1,000 acres on the East branch of the Licking. Joshua Humphreys's 1783 entry of 4,769 acres was located on the South Fork of the Licking in Fayette County. Abel Griffith's 1782 entry for 300 acres was located on Hinkston's Fork, the northern branch of the South Fork of the¹³ Licking.

Several individuals made entries on branches of the Green and Cumberland rivers which drained to the south towards Tennessee. In 1780, James Buchanan had entries totaling 1,500 acres on Robertson's Creek, a branch of the Green River in Jefferson County. Matthew Patton's 1783

entry was for 550 acres on Nolin's Creek, a fork of the Beaver Creek branch of the Green River. William Finley made a joint entry with others in 1783 for 2,828 acres on Bear Creek farther west along the Green River still in Jefferson County. William Monger's 1781 entries totaling 500 acres were also located on the Green River. To the east along the Cumberland River in Lincoln County, Andrew McClure had 700 acres on Bucks Creek, according to a 1791 Court of Appeals
¹⁴
 land record.

Some of those who removed had no land entries until long after their arrival in Kentucky; others had military warrants but no recorded land entries using these warrants. Robert Curry was delinquent to Kentucky in 1792, but had no land entries until 1800 when he filed for 200 acres on Cypress Creek, a branch of the Green River far to the west in what was formerly the Henderson Grant and was by then Henderson County. James Ewing Jr. removed to Kentucky sometime between 1797 and 1800, but had no entries until 1807 when he filed for 100 acres on Brushy Fork of Big Muddy Creek, also on the Green River southwest of Cypress Creek. Those with military warrants included William Hook, whose 1785 warrant for 100 acres was granted in return for his three years' service in the Virginia line, and William Martin, whose two warrants in 1783 were for 200 acres each in return for service under George Rogers Clark in the
¹⁵
 Virginia line.

County tax lists taken in Kentucky for the 1790 Federal Census provide more accurate information about where these

people settled and help confirm their arrival in Kentucky. As seen in Table Five, William Allen, William Anderson, James Dickey, William Martin, John Scott, and James Stephenson were included on tithables lists for Fayette County in 1789. Anderson, Martin, and Scott appeared again on the Fayette lists for 1790, along with Robert Campbell, Nicholas Curry, Uriah Garten, William Hinds, Andrew McClure, Joseph Smith, and James Trotter. James Curry and William McClintock were included with Anderson, Martin, and Joseph Smith on the 1791 tithables lists for Bourbon County, which was created from Fayette in 1785. James Buchanan was listed on the 1790 tithables list for Mason County, created from Bourbon in 1788. Allen, Dickey, Scott, and Stephenson appeared on the 1790 tithables list for Woodford County, created from Fayette in 1788.

Others appeared on lists for Jefferson and Lincoln counties and their later subdivisions. James Stephenson was included on the 1789 tithables list for Jefferson County and appeared again on the 1790 list along with John Scott. William Allen, William Anderson and Christopher Graham were included on the 1792 tithables list for Nelson County, which was created from Jefferson in 1784. William Henderson and James Kerr were included on the 1790 tithables list for Lincoln County. William McDowell was listed along with Allen and Anderson on the 1789 tithables list for Mercer County, created from Lincoln in 1785.

TABLE FIVE: INDIVIDUALS ON COUNTY TAX LISTS FOR KENTUCKY

NAME	YEARS	COUNTIES
William Allen	1789, 1789, 1790, 1792	Fayette, Mercer, Woodford, Nelson
William Anderson	1789-90, 1789, 1791, 1792	Fayette, Mercer, Bourbon (2), Nelson
James Buchanan	1790	Mason
Robert Campbell	1790	Fayette
James Curry	1791	Bourbon
Nicholas Curry	1790	Fayette
Robert Curry	1800, 1800	Clark, Mercer
James Dickey	1789, 1790	Fayette, Woodford
James Ewing	1800, 1800, 1800	Green, Logan, Scott
William Finley	1800	Lincoln
Uriah Garten	1790	Fayette
Christopher Graham	1792	Nelson
Abel Griffith	1800, 1800	Bourbon, Boone
William Henderson	1790	Lincoln
William Hinds	1790	Fayette
William Hook	1800	Madison
James Kerr Jr.	1790	Lincoln
David Laird Jr.	1810	Garrard
James McCleary	1800, 1800	Fayette, Mercer
William McClintock	1791	Bourbon
Andrew McClure	1790-91	Fayette
John McClure	1789, 1789, 1790, 1790	Fayette, Jefferson, Woodford, Lincoln
William McDowell	1789	Mercer
Alexander McPheeters	1800	Bourbon
William Martin	1789-90, 1791, 1792	Fayette, Bourbon, Nelson
James Moffett	1800	Woodford
Matthew Patton	1800	Clark (2)
John Ray	1800, 1800, 1800	Gallatin, Warren, Washington
John Scott	1789-90, 1790, 1790, 1791	Fayette, Jefferson, Woodford, Bourbon
Jacob Smith	1789, 1800	Jefferson, Clark
Joseph Smith	1790, 1791	Fayette, Bourbon
James Stephenson	1789, 1789-90, 1790	Fayette, Jefferson, Woodford
James Trotter	1790	Fayette
Robert Young	1800, 1800, 1800, 1800	Bourbon, Green, Lincoln, Montgomery

*Washington County was formed from Nelson in 1792

*Scott County was formed from Woodford in 1792

*Logan County was formed from Lincoln in 1792

*Clark County was formed from Fayette & Bourbon in 1792

*Green County was formed from Lincoln & Nelson in 1792

*Montgomery County was formed from Clark in 1796

*Warren County was formed from Logan in 1796

*Garrard County was formed from Mercer, Lincoln & Madison in 1792

*Boone County was formed from Scott & Mason in 1798

*Gallatin County was formed from Jefferson, Woodford & Mason in 1798

Several of those who settled in counties with missing lists in 1790 or who arrived in the late 1790s appeared on the county lists taken for the 1800 Federal Census. The derivation of counties not shown on Filson's and Barker's maps is noted at the bottom of the Table Five. Individuals on a single tax list included William Finley in Lincoln County, William Hook in Madison County, Alexander McPheeters in Bourbon County, James Moffett in Woodford County, and Matthew Patton Sr. and Jr. in Clark County. Those on multiple lists included Robert Curry on lists taken in Clark and Mercer counties; James Ewing in Green, Logan, and Scott counties; Abel Griffith in Bourbon and Boone counties; James McCleary in Fayette and Mercer counties; John Ray in Gallatin, Warren, and Washington counties; and Robert Young in Bourbon, Green, Lincoln, and Montgomery counties. David Laird did not appear on a Kentucky census list until 1810,¹⁷ when he was listed as resident in Garrard County.

Kentucky wills contain other information that confirms the county where these individuals settled. The published records of these wills often do not give enough information to confirm that the decedent was a former Augusta resident, but at least four wills do give such information. Abel Griffith's 1811 will was recorded in Augusta County, but was probably recorded first in Henderson County, Kentucky. Although his recorded entries were on Hinkstons Fork of Licking River, Abel deeded lands he had acquired on Green River in Henderson County to his oldest sons Isaac and

Elijah, while dividing his Long Glade lands in Augusta among his four youngest sons Robert, David, Caleb, and Hiram. According to Augusta records, David Laird Sr's widow, Anne, and his son Jr. removed to Kentucky before 1803. Anne's will, written in 1811 and proved in Harrison County in 1821, names Jr. her heir along with her other children James, Samuel, and Jean. Robert McKittrick Sr's 1795 Harrison County will was proved in Augusta in December of that year. The Harrison will specifies that his youngest son James inherited lands in Augusta, but Augusta records of this will show Jr. was given the Jennings Gap plantation in Augusta. Augusta records show that James and Margaret Trotter removed to Kentucky in 1784 with Margaret's mother, Martha Downey. Although it doesn't specify the Trotters' county of residence, Martha's 1801 Clark County will does mention Margaret among her heirs. Because it was contested in Augusta, Martha's will may have involved the distribution of 700 acres recorded as belonging to her on the 1777 Augusta¹⁸ tithables lists.

Two other Kentucky wills and an obituary provide some family links that confirm Samuel Trotter's settlement in Kentucky. In 1797, Samuel and George witnessed William Trotter's Scott County will, which named William's brother, James, as co-executor with William's widow Margaret. In 1807, Samuel was named heir in his brother George's Fayette County will, proved in 1815. Their father, Col. James Trotter, was one of the executors. Col. James's obituary

stated that he died in Lexington in 1827, so it is likely¹⁹ that Samuel also resided in Fayette County.

For others, Augusta records confirm their county of residence in Kentucky. Augusta court records show that Andrew Moody Sr. moved with his wife Catherine to Carter's Valley, Tennessee, in 1786 and from there to Madison County, Kentucky, in 1796, where he died in 1800. Moody Sr's 1800 Madison County will confirms this account. In 1801, Matthew Patton, non-resident, was appointed William Patton of Augusta's executor and deposed that William was his distant relative. Patton Sr's 1803 Clark County will confirms that he was a Kentucky resident. James Moffett and his wife Hannah were non-residents when her father Henry Miller's estate was contested in 1800. In George Moffett's 1811 Augusta will, James was named as son and heir to 900 acres²⁰ on Glen Creek in Kentucky.

Augusta records show that James McCleary made a deposition in Fayette County in 1798 that he had settled in Augusta in 1742 and lived there until October 1785. His 1799 deposition in Lexington was needed as part of the Augusta district court case of McPheeters v. Moffett. William Hinds was recorded as living in Jessamine County, Kentucky, in August 1802. Joshua Humphreys obtained a 1789 Augusta writ for his case against William Sheels, who had been employed to transport Humphreys and his family across the Kenawha River on their way to Kentucky. Humphreys's 1823 obituary states that he resided in Lexington. William

Monger traveled with his family to Kentucky, was taken captive ten months later during an Indian attack on Ruddle's Station, was held prisoner in Detroit, and died in 1781 prior to the Virginia statute of entails with estates in Virginia, Kentucky, and Upper Canada. It is possible that his son Jr. returned to file the 1781 and 1784 land claims²¹ in Kentucky.

Petitions sent by Kentucky settlers to the Virginia General Assembly in Richmond furnish additional proof of residence. The county and year in which each petition was written is recorded, along with the signatures attached to each petition. The names of eighteen former Augusta residents, nearly half of the group who removed, match signatures found on several of these petitions. William Allen, William Anderson, Robert Curry, William McDowell, Joseph Smith, and James Trotter signed their first petitions in Fayette and Bourbon counties between 1785 and 1789, subsequent to their removal to Kentucky. James Buchanan's signature on a 1785 Lincoln County petition, James Dickey's signature on a 1788 Fayette County petition, William Henderson's signature on a 1780 Kentucky district petition, and John Ray's signature on a 1785 Lincoln county petition confirm that they arrived in Kentucky earlier than Augusta records indicated. Robert McKittrick's signatures on Bourbon County petitions in 1789 and 1790 indicate that he removed at least one year before the 1790 Augusta delinquency list was taken. Uriah Garten's signature on a 1780 Kentucky

district petition precedes the Augusta court record of his removal in 1795, but is concurrent with his 1780 claim before the Virginia Land Commission. It is possible that Garten returned to Augusta because of a legal dispute over his late wife's inheritance from her mother Agnes Divler's 1786 will, but then traveled back to Kentucky in 1795.²²

There are six individuals whose petition signatures precede and conflict with the date of their removal to Kentucky as shown in Augusta records. Robert Campbell's signatures on a Kentucky district and Fayette County petitions between 1787 and 1789 precede his removal noted on the 1790 Augusta delinquent tax list. William McClintock's signatures on Kentucky district and Bourbon County petitions between 1787 and 1790 precede his removal recorded on the 1792 Augusta delinquent tax list. James Curry's signature on a 1789 Kentucky district petition to repeal the separation act is dated several years before his removal recorded on the 1794 Augusta delinquent tax list. John Scott's signatures on Bourbon and Woodford county petitions between 1786 and 1791 precede his removal as recorded on the 1795 Augusta delinquent tax list. William Martin's signatures on Kentucky district, Fayette, and Lincoln county petitions between 1781 and 1791 precede his removal as recorded on the 1797 Augusta delinquent tax list. James Stephenson's name, also on the 1797 list as removed, appears among signatures on Kentucky district, Lincoln, Bourbon,²³ and Woodford county petitions between 1785 and 1791.

It is important to note that these petitions can not definitively prove the date or county of settlement for this group of migrants, since many of the names are quite common and it is not possible to compare original signatures in the published transcriptions of these petitions. This caution also applies to those whose names appear on the census tax lists. Regardless of the difficulty in making a definitive match between names in the Augusta and Kentucky records, the group as a whole is still representative of those who made the trip from Augusta to Kentucky. Taking the above-mentioned cautions into consideration, it is possible to create a revised list of Kentucky settlers as shown in Table Six. Now that this group of settlers has been defined, it is time to consider the political implications of their removal to Kentucky and of the requests and complaints they made once they arrived there.

TABLE SIX: EVIDENCE CONFIRMING AUGUSTA CITIZENS' SETTLEMENT IN KENTUCKY

Name	Year	County
William Hinds	1779 del./gone, 1789 in Ky.	Fayette 1790 tax
William Monger	1779 in Ky.	Lincoln (Ruddle's Station)
William Henderson	1780 removed, 1786 & 1794 del.	*1780 Ky., Lincoln 1790 tax
Joshua Humphreys	1781 del./gone, 1789 Ky. traveler	Fayette 1823 will
William Anderson Jr.	1782 del., w/Trimbles, Moffetts	Bourbon #1786, Mercer & Fayette 1789 tax
Joseph Smith	1782 delinquent	Fayette #1789, 1790 tax
William Allen	1783 w/ Capt. James Trimble	Fayette #1787, 1789 tax
William McDowell	1784 no inhabitant, 1799 Danville	Bourbon #1788, Mercer 1789 tax
Robert Curry	1784 non-resident, 1792 del.	Fayette #1785, Clark/Mercer 1800 tax
James Trotter Jr.	1784 w/wife & Martha Downey	Bourbon #1787, Fayette 1790 tax
Samuel Trotter	1785 delinquent	Scott witnessed 1797 will
James McCleary	1785 left, 1798 in Fayette Co.	Fayette 1800 tax
Andrew McClure	1786 delinquent	Fayette 1790 tax
Andrew Moody Sr.	1786 delinquent	Madison 1800 will
William Finley	1787 removal, 1801 del.	Lincoln 1800 tax
Robert Campbell	1790 delinquent	Fayette #1787, 1790 tax
Robert McKittrick Sr.	1790 delinquent	Bourbon #1789, 1793 deed
William Hook	1790 delinquent, w/R. Campbell	Madison 1800 tax
Christopher Graham	1791 delinquent	Nelson 1792 tax
William McClintock	1792 delinquent	Bourbon #1787, 1791 tax
Robert Young	1792 delinquent	Bourbon 1794 land, 1800 tax
Matthew Patton	1793 about to remove	Clark 1803 will
James Kerr Jr.	1793 in Lexington w/R. Campbell	Lincoln 1790 tax
James Curry	1794 delinquent	*1789 Ky., Bourbon 1791 tax
John Ray/Wray	1794 in Ky.	Lincoln #1785, Wash. 1794 deed/1800 tax
Alexander McPheeters	1795 about to remove w/Jane	Bourbon 1800 tax
John Scott	1795 delinquent	Bourbon #1786, Fayette 1789 tax
Uriah Garten	1795 removed w/Robert Ralston	*1780 Ky., Fayette 1790 tax
James Stephenson	1797 delinquent	Lincoln #1785, Fayette 1789 tax
William Martin	1797 delinquent, w/Andrew Kennedy	Fayette #1781, Nelson 1797 land
James Ewing	1797-1800 removed	Logan 1800 tax, 1807 land
James Moffett	1799 about to remove	Woodford 1800 tax
James Buchanan	1799 in Fayette Co.	Lincoln #1785, Mason 1790 tax
James Dickey	1799 of Woodford Co.	Fayette #1788, Woodford 1799 dep.
Nicholas Curry	1800 in Ky.	Fayette 1790 tax, 1803 inv.
David Laird Jr.	1802 delinquent	Garrard 1810 tax
Abel Griffith	1802 of Madison Co.	Bourbon & Henderson 1800 tax
Jacob Smith	1808 of Clark Co.	Jeff. 1789 tax, Clark 1800 tax

* stands for petitions from these counties.

CHAPTER THREE
SETTLERS AND STATEHOOD: PETITIONS TO
THE VIRGINIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

What wonders there shall freedom show!
What mighty states successive grow.
.....
Here reason shall new laws devise,
And order from confusion rise.¹

The people of Kentucky are all turned Politician
from the highest in Office to the Peasant.²

Both Philip Freneau's romantic vision and Harry Innes's cynical assessment describe the political climate in which Kentucky's genesis as the first western state occurred. At times, the confusion created by conflicting interests threatened to upset the progress made towards establishing order. Expansion westward into Kentucky territory outpaced Virginia's attempts to extend its familiar county-based political institutions to the frontier. The principles of representation, liberty, and equality which figured so prominently in Revolutionary rhetoric led Kentuckians to expect to participate more actively in their own government. Instead of waiting for Virginia to recognize the needs of its western citizens, Kentuckians took the initiative in voicing their concerns through the time-honored practice of petitioning. Although tradition demanded that citizens present a facade of consensus on political issues, Kentuckians felt compelled to express their views through the means at their disposal. By placing these petitions in

the context of views expressed in newspaper editorials and private correspondence, it is possible to assess their significance with regard to Kentuckians' larger political concern over separate statehood.

The sentiments expressed in Caleb Wallace's letter to James Madison, dated July 12, 1785, reflect both the confidence and the self-doubt that many settlers felt when considering Kentucky's political situation. Wallace was pleased to tell Madison that, "In point of Morals, the bulk of the inhabitants are far superior to what I expected to find in any newly settled Country." Wallace went on to explain that representatives at the recent district convention unanimously agreed to petition the Virginia Assembly to establish Kentucky as a state. "I cannot explain the prevailing Sentiments better," wrote Wallace, "than by telling you We conceive the People of this District do not at present enjoy a greater portion of Liberty than an American Colony might have done a few Years ago had she been allowed a Representation in the British Parliament."³

Admitting to Madison that he had only recently come to support this position, Wallace stated:

Until lately I have myself thought it would be more eligible to continue as we are a while longer; but finding that our Situation is too remote to enjoy the advantages of Government with Virginia in any tolerable degree, I have fallen in with the opinion that it is better to part in peace than to remain together in a State of Jealousy and Discontent. My greatest doubt now is that we shall lack wisdom and virtue to govern ourselves.⁴

Judging from the requests made in the petitions to the Virginia General Assembly during this same period, it would seem that many Kentuckians were chiefly concerned with making sure that local units of government were set up convenient to the needs of the Kentucky population, instead of anticipating the long-range prospect of self-government. Many of the petitions requested the creation of new counties, towns, county courts, and a supreme court; others dealt with establishing tobacco inspection warehouses, extending the deadlines for filing land claims, obtaining licenses to run public ferries, and establishing or disallowing dams and mills on the rivers. Only four petitions deal directly with the question of separation from Virginia, and a few others refer to separation when arguing the merits of a county division. Considering Congress' uncertain attitude towards Virginia's western lands, Kentuckians at first viewed Virginia's jurisdiction as preferable to complete independence and only gradually⁵ changed this opinion.

Looking at these petitions as a group, the most numerous were those requesting county divisions. The numbers below were assigned in Filson Club Publication No. 27. William Anderson, James Buchanan, William Martin, John Ray, and James Stephenson signed Petition 27 in 1785 requesting the three-part division of Lincoln County. The request was granted in 1786, resulting in the creation of the new counties of Mercer and Madison. William Anderson and Robert

Curry signed Petition 28 in 1785 requesting the division of Fayette County. The request was granted with the creation of Bourbon County in 1788. William Martin signed Petition 47 in 1787 requesting the creation of a new county from parts of Fayette, Bourbon, and Madison, to center on Boonesborough. William Anderson, James Buchanan, Robert Curry, and William McClintock signed Petition 48 in 1787 requesting the division of Bourbon County. Both petitions were referred to committee, and in 1788, Mason County was created. William Martin signed Petition 52 in 1788 requesting a further division of Fayette County. The request was granted in 1788 with the creation of Woodford County. William Allen, William Martin, and Joseph Smith signed Petition 65 in 1789 requesting the creation of a new county from Fayette and Bourbon, but the request was rejected. Three unnumbered petitions signed by William Allen, William Anderson, John Ray, and John Scott proposed division of Woodford County in 1789, 1790, and 1791. The first petition was postponed, but the second and third were approved.

Most of these petitions in favor of division had their accompanying petition opposing division. William Anderson, William McClintock, and John Scott signed Petition 49 opposing the Bourbon County divisions proposed in Petitions 47 and 48, and William McDowell signed Petition 55 opposing both these Bourbon County divisions plus an additional one proposed in Petition 54. James Dickey and Robert Campbell

signed Petition 53 opposing the Fayette division proposed in Petition 52. William Anderson signed the successful Petition 33 postponing a division of Bourbon County proposed in 1786, and William McDowell and Robert McKittrick signed the successful Petition 66 opposing the division of Fayette and Bourbon counties to form a new county.⁷

In addition to these petitions for county division, Kentuckians petitioned for the extension of local government through the establishment of towns and county courthouses. William Martin signed Petition 14 in 1781, one of the first petitions to request official establishment of a town. Lexington was established in Fayette County, titles to its lots were confirmed, and trustees were appointed to oversee the construction of public buildings and other improvements. John Ray signed Petition 26 in 1785 for the establishment of Harrodsburg in Lincoln County, and William Anderson signed Petition 62 in 1789 for the establishment of Hopewell, later renamed Paris, in Bourbon County. James Stephenson signed a petition in 1789 for the establishment of Milford in Madison County and an unsuccessful petition in 1791 for the establishment of Versailles in Woodford County. Settlers at Lexington wished to encourage "well disposed persons, artisans and mechanicks" who "prefer a Town life" to settle there, and also extolled the convenience of the site as a county seat. This dual motive was behind most other petitions for establishing towns.⁸

Reverend John Shane's interviews with two Kentucky settlers shed additional light on the competition to establish towns. Mrs. Sarah Graham recalled that when she lived in Harrodsburg, the town "had to scuffle two or three years for the county seat," because "Danville thought the country around Harrodsburg too poor to support a county seat, and that Frankfort, for the seat of government, would be sickly." Benjamin Allen remembered that when Clark County was created, there was also a competition for the county seat. "Only lost the county seat's being fixed at Bob McMullin's Big Spring, on Howard's Lower Creek, three miles [south] from Winchester, by one vote," Allen recalled, adding that "Strode's was also in nomination, but it was too nigh the Fayette [County] line."⁹

Settlers also petitioned to increase the number of Supreme Court meeting places within Kentucky. Petition 60 was signed by William Allen, Robert Campbell, Joseph Smith, and James Trotter to request that the court meet at Lexington and Bairdstown as well as in Danville. A statement of the court's docket was compiled to show the number of cases heard and pending. John Ray signed the successful Petition 69 in 1789 which opposed the removal of the Supreme Court from Danville on the grounds of added expense and the principle that "those Governments are best who employ fewer officers." As a result of this petition, the Virginia Assembly granted that the court's sessions would be increased to three in order to handle the heavy caseloads.¹⁰

The petitions requesting the establishment of public warehouses for tobacco inspection were also part of the push for greater control over local affairs, but fewer settlers could agree on these warehouse petitions because of the tug-of-war between private interests involved. Petitions 63 and 64 contain typical examples of the arguments used to support or oppose a new inspection warehouse. William Anderson signed Petition 63 in 1789 requesting the creation of a warehouse on Tate's Creek. The petition noted that the present site was poor, "owing to the danger of discending [sic] the cliffs, the badness of the Roads and the Risque of crossing the River," and suggested the new site as a "Commodious and conveniant place for an Inspection." William McClintock and James Stephenson signed the opposing Petition 64 in 1789. They successfully argued that they conceived "the principles of said petitions is founded on neither Justices or good policy; but wholly Calculated for the Interest & Convenience of a few Individuals." The expense of furnishing two warehouses was also cited as tending to "deviid [divide] the attention of the people so¹¹ that they must fall."

The two petitions arguing the merits of free navigation versus locks and mills on the Licking River are evidence of Kentuckians' ongoing concern over trade and navigation. Usually these concerns were complementary, but in this case the development of manufacturing was in conflict with the interest in free navigation. William Allen, John Scott, and

James Stephenson signed Petition 77 in 1790, which complained of the expense incurred by grain farmers due to the lack of grist mills on Stoner's and Hinkston's forks of the Licking River. The petitioners argued that building mills with good locks or dams would make the river "above ten times the value to Bourbone than what it is at present with only them navogations [sic] alone." In Petition 78, signed by William Anderson, Robert McKitrick, John Scott, and Joseph Smith in 1790, the opposition noted that the river served as the main route by which settlers could export their produce. In view of this fact, they were convinced that "the obstructing of the navigation of sd River would be highly injurious, and contrary to the Interest of the County." As with the warehouse petitioners, the signers of these petitions tried to produce concrete evidence to support their claims that their requests were¹² in accordance with the public interest.

Two petitions contained requests for extensions for filing and settling land claims. William McClintock signed Petition 88 in 1790 for an extension to record land deeds at Bourbon County courthouse. The petitioners cited the death of the sheriff as having postponed court sessions for six months in late 1789, and mentioned that some deed holders had died or removed so that the heirs or new owners were unable to obtain new deeds in time to meet the deadline. Their request was granted. Petition 93, signed by William Henderson, William McDowell, and William Martin, was written

in 1791 to request an extension for filing surveys at the registers office. The petitioners claimed that the act requiring surveys to be filed was not publicized in the district until after the August 1791 deadline. Fearful of the schemes of "designing men . . . against many of the good and industrious Citizens," these petitioners looked to the Assembly "as the Guardians and Supporters" of their "lives liberty and property." Because this petition was approved shortly before separate statehood was to be granted, the new act provided that patents not be issued on these late surveys until after statehood.

13

Before moving on to consider each of the petitions dealing with separate statehood, it is helpful to set the scene in which this debate took place. The Kentucky Gazette, first printed in 1787, carried editorials arguing both sides of this issue from its very first issue until about 1790. Most of the debate raged during 1787-1788, when more than 40 editorials were printed on the topic. The authors tried to convey their sincerity and objectivity in the pen names they adopted, but all of them argued for a chosen side. Although most were probably well educated, they took the roles of simple farmers, disinterested well-wishers, and even women, judging from editorials authored by Abigail Trueheart and Sophia Kentuckeana. Virginia was cast by some in the role of "Imperious parent or Step-dame"; others considered the Assembly to be a "most august body of men" whose wise decisions were unfairly

repudiated by their "capricious child," Kentucky. Although many confessed to being poorly versed in politics and lacking "the flowers of language," some authors were quite vehement in their arguments and many editorials degenerated into personal attacks rather than edifying their readers.¹⁴

Those writers who maintained cooler heads were able to assess the merits and shortcomings of both the "separatist" and "anti-separatist" sides, as they were then termed. The exchanges in the Kentucky Gazette were intended to uphold the ideal of fair discussion, described in one editorial as "advancing the rational arguments on both sides of the question, . . . that every citizen may be able to judge for himself." The following assessment of the separation debate summarizes the point on which the debate turned: "That a separation at some period is, or will be expedient, few or none deny. The point on which our politicians divide, is, the time and manner of its taking place." Even this seemingly minor disagreement over timing could explode into a war of words.¹⁵

The petitions dealing with separation, however, had a more sober tone and attempted to inform a distant Virginia government of the Kentucky district's situation, rather than taking a critical stance. One petition, dated June 8, 1780, and signed by Uriah Garten and William Henderson, expressed the settlers' concern over Congress' refusal to accept Virginia's cession of western lands because Congress felt "that Virginia has not any just right to land northwest of

the Allegany Mountains." The petitioners protested that if the land was not Virginia's, then it belonged to them. They hastened to add, however, that they still considered themselves "a part of Virginia."¹⁶

Petition 15, dated 1782 and signed by William Anderson, contained a hodge-podge of grievances. The memorialists mentioned their helplessness to combat Indian invaders, the need to renew the ancient cultivation law in order to increase settlement and provide the poor with necessary relief, the depreciation of land warrants, the difficulties caused by ignorance of the land laws, and the hostile feelings stirred up by the distribution of "an Inflammatory Pamphlet intituled publick Good." They requested redress of these grievances and the provision for better government, if not under Virginia Jurisdiction, then through granting a separation. Some of the requests were granted in an effort¹⁷ to stave off the necessity for separation.

Many of those who were opposed to separation in 1789 signed Petition 58. William Allen, William Anderson, Robert Campbell, James Curry, and John Scott were among those who signed. The petition gives an account of the district convention at Danville in 1788, at which representatives voted to petition the Virginia Assembly to amend the terms of separation proposed in its recent act. The petitioners protested that separation "was not the will of the good people" of the district, and that the representatives' vote in favor of such a plan "would have been too glaring a

violation of the trust reposed in them" when compared to their election promises. Those who signed believed that "an augmentation of states under the general Government, by the erection of a new Government here, which will be clothed with no national power" could be "of no security to our property." They called for the will of the people to be established by a repeal of the separation act, with no
 18
 mention of postponement.

Thoughts of separation influenced the requests made in two previously mentioned petitions for county division. In addition to their pleas that their county was too thinly populated to warrant division, the Bourbon inhabitants who signed Petition 33 in 1786 believed that "as the Erection of Kentuckey into a free independent state will most undoubtedly take place," the people of the district "may divide . . . into Counties as they think proper." Those in Bourbon who favored a division in 1787 used the prospect of independence in their arguments as well. In Petition 48, they expected "that the Erection of the district of Kentucky into an Independent State will soon take place," and feared that they "must continue to groan under their present Burden, till a Legislative body is formed here." Their great concern was that their opinions would not be properly represented in forming a future state constitution unless a new county was formed from Bourbon. The prospect of independent statehood could thus be used as leverage to

encourage or discourage the Virginia Assembly from taking
¹⁹
 action on Kentuckians' requests.

After nine statehood conventions held from 1784 to 1790 in Danville, Kentuckians reached an agreement with Virginia upon the terms of separation, and admission into the Union was scheduled for 1792 after a state constitution was drafted. Political debate over the wisdom of these decisions continued, but the uncertainty over Kentucky's future was lessened somewhat. But was Kentucky truly prepared for this separation? Kentucky had no period of self-government as a colony, independent state, or territory before entering the Union. One historian notes that "accident of timing, rather any maturation of political society" produced this somewhat premature drive for independence. Certainly the Revolutionary ideals of self-government were ripe and mature, but the structure and
²⁰
 institutions for Kentucky's self-government were not.

Even after studying the petitions they signed, one might ask whether the ordinary settlers who migrated to Kentucky really believed that their political situation was significant or critical. Did those settlers who arrived after statehood was accomplished share the political concerns of those who preceded them? Was it a case of "voting with one's feet"? Since it is not possible to take a poll of their responses, one can only draw tentative conclusions from their actions. Many of the Augusta migrants were only able to remove after coming into their

inheritance. Whether it was the pull of new lands or the push of economic independence and new-found mobility that motivated their removal, these Augusta migrants probably gave less thought to political concerns when making their decision. Because many acquired title to Kentucky lands under Virginia law, the Augusta migrants were not as disgruntled over the prospect of Virginia's continued jurisdiction. At the same time, however, their experiences in county government in the Shenandoah Valley made them accustomed to taking the initiative in local political affairs. As long as Kentucky's status as a district did not interfere with their administration of local affairs, these settlers were satisfied, but once this status seemed to interfere with their security, they began to consider the alternatives.

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

1. Austin quoted in Arthur K. Moore, The Frontier Mind: A Cultural Analysis of the Kentucky Frontiersman (Lexington, Ky., 1957), 26.

2. Moore, The Frontier Mind, 25-29.

3. Ray Allen Billington, Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier (New York, 1949), 2. For further discussion of Turner's legacy, see Malcolm J. Rohrbough, The Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions, 1775-1850 (New York, 1978), 9-12; and William Cronon, "Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner" (paper presented at the 1985 meeting of the Organization of American Historians).

4. Robert D. Mitchell, Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley (Charlottesville, Va., 1977), 1-3; Patricia Watlington, The Partisan Spirit: Kentucky Politics, 1779-1792 (New York, 1972), quotation on 250.

5. Thomas Perkins Abernethy, Western Lands and the American Revolution (New York, 1937), vii-viii, quotation on viii.

6. Ibid., viii; Watlington, Partisan Spirit, 251.

7. Billington, Westward Expansion, 3.

8. Ibid., 3-7; 743-746, quotation on 745.

9. Watlington, Partisan Spirit, 252; John D. Barnhart, Valley of Democracy: The Frontier versus the Plantation in the Ohio Valley, 1775-1818 (Bloomington, Ind., 1953), 46, 226-230, quotation on 228.

10. Moore, Frontier Mind, 1-3, quotation on 2.

11. Ibid., 3-7, quotation on 4; Watlington, Partisan Spirit, 252-253.

12. Rohrbough, Trans-Appalachian Frontier, 11.

13. Watlington, Partisan Spirit, 233-234.

14. Rohrbough, Trans-Appalachian Frontier, 348-349, 12-13.

15. Steven A. Channing, Kentucky: A Bicentennial History (New York, 1977), 7-11; Jack M. Sosin, The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763-1783 (New York, 1967), 75-76.

16. Channing, Kentucky, 26-28; Otis K. Rice, Frontier Kentucky (Lexington, Ky., 1975), 84-85.

17. Watlington, Partisan Spirit, 11-12.

18. Channing, Kentucky, 32-33; Rice, Frontier Kentucky, 119; Watlington, Partisan Spirit, 31-34.

19. Channing, Kentucky, 41-42; Watlington, Partisan Spirit, 12-14.

20. Watlington, Partisan Spirit, 14-15.

21. Thomas D. Clark, Frontier America: The Story of the Westward Movement (New York, 1959), 139.

22. Ibid., 138; Channing, Kentucky, 42; Thomas Perkins Abernethy, Three Virginia Frontiers (Gloucester, Mass., 1962 [orig. publ. Baton Rouge, La., 1940]), quotation on 77; Watlington, Partisan Spirit, quotation on 16.

23. Humphrey Marshall quoted in Channing, Kentucky, 42.

24. Watlington, Partisan Spirit, 17.

25. Channing, Kentucky, 42-43, quotation on 43; "Certificate Book of the Virginia Land Commission of 1779-1780," in the 1981 reprint edition of the Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society, XXI (1923), 3; Moore, Frontier Mind, 74-75.

26. Watlington, Partisan Spirit, 20.

27. Editorial note on Marshall's land dealings, The Papers of John Marshall, ed. Herbert A. Johnson et al. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1974-), I, 101-104; Watlington, Partisan Spirit, 21.

28. Channing, Kentucky, 57-58.

29. Rohrbough, Trans-Appalachian Frontier, 53-54; Watlington, Partisan Spirit, 54-55; Channing, Kentucky, 58.

30. Abernethy, Three Virginia Frontiers, 72-74, 94-95, quotation on 72.

31. Channing, Kentucky, 67.

32. Sosin, Revolutionary Frontier, 181; Moore, Frontier Mind, 71, 74.

33. Watlington, Partisan Spirit, 113.

34. Larry Dale Gragg, "Migration in Early America: The Virginia Quaker Experience" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, 1978), vii; Darrett B. Rutman, "Assessing the Little Communities of Early America," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XLIII (1986), 163-178. Due to the rather specific scope of migration studies and their interdisciplinary nature, much of the detailed research is probably found in unpublished theses and dissertations such as Gragg's. A small sample of the published works which have paid special attention to migration and are referred to in Rutman's article include Charles S. Grant, Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town of Kent (New York, 1961); James T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania (Baltimore, 1972); Linda Auwers Bissell, "From One Generation to Another: Mobility in Seventeenth-Century Windsor, Connecticut," WMQ, 3d Ser., XXXI (1974), 79-110; and the previously mentioned study of the early Shenandoah Valley by Robert D. Mitchell.

35. Gragg, "Virginia Quaker Experience," xiii.

36. Barnhart, Valley of Democracy, 66; Abernethy, Three Virginia Frontiers, 67; Rice, Frontier Kentucky, 111; Channing, Kentucky, 45.

37. Augusta County tithables lists, 1772, 1777, 1778, Virginia State Library; Tithables for 1781, 1783, 1784, and Delinquents for 1773, 1774, 1779, 1782-1786, 1790-1799, 1800-1803, in Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, ed. Lyman Chalkley, 3 vols. (Rosslyn, Va., 1912-1913), II, 429-431, 421-428; Delinquents and Insolvents: Land and Property Taxes, Virginia State Auditor's Item No. 148, Va. State Lib.; Joseph A. Waddell, Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, From 1726 to 1871, 2d ed. (Bridgewater, Va., 1958).

38. Willard Rouse Jillson, comp., Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds: A Complete Index to All of the Earliest Land Entries, Military Warrants, Deeds and Wills of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, Filson Club Publications No. 34 (Louisville, Ky., 1926), and The Kentucky Land Grants: A Systematic Index to All of the Land Grants Recorded in the State Land Office at Frankfort, Kentucky, 1782-1924, Filson Club Publications No. 33 (Louisville, Ky., 1925); "Certificate Book," Reg. Ky. Hist. Soc., XXI (1923), 8-168, 175-313.

39. James Rood Robertson, ed., Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia, 1769 to 1792, Filson Club Publications No. 27 (Louisville, Ky., 1914); Silas Emmett Lucas, Jr., ed., "Petitions from Kentuckians to the Virginia Legislature," appendix to 1981 reprint ed., Reg. Ky. Hist. Soc., XXI (1923), 324-367.

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41. James Breckinridge Papers, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.; Campbell Family Papers, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.; The Papers of James Madison, ed. William T. Hutchinson et. al. (Chicago, 1962-), VIII, 321-322; Marshall Papers, Leven Powell Papers, William and Peyton Short Papers, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.

42. Watlington, Partisan Spirit, 125-126; Barnhart, Valley of Democracy, 74-75.

43. Rohrbough, Trans-Appalachian Frontier, 348.

CHAPTER TWO

1. Augusta County tithable lists, 1777, Virginia State Library; 1777 list of militia companies in which tithables were to be taken, in Lyman Chalkley, ed., Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, 3 vols. (Rosslyn, Va., 1912-1913), II, 430.
2. Boundary descriptions based on maps in Robert D. Mitchell, Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley (Charlottesville, Va., 1978), 10, 20; and Freeman H. Hart, The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789 (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1942), 6.
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5. Landholdings traced in wills and land deed records from Volume III of Chalkley, ed., Chronicles of Scotch-Irish in Va.
6. Information about Allen, Griffith, Humphreys, Kerr, McDowell, Martin, and Trotter contained in Chalkley, ed., Chronicles of Scotch-Irish in Va., II, 408, III, 545, 549, III, 525, I, 285, II, 411. Information about Patton found in Mitchell, Commercialism and Frontier, 184, 186.
7. Information about Allen and Anderson found in Joseph A. Waddell, Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, From 1726 to 1871, 2d ed. (Bridgewater, Va., 1958), 153, 332. Information about Graham, Samuel and James Trotter, Campbell, Hook, Garten, and Martin contained in Chalkley, ed., Chronicles of Scotch-Irish in Va., I, 388, II, 425, I, 236, 262, II, 31, 21.
8. Information about McDowell found in "Petitions from Kentuckians to the Virginia Legislature," appendix to 1981 reprint ed., Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, XXI (1923), 341. Information about Ewing, Laird, Hinds, Kerr, Campbell, Curry, Young, Griffith, and McPheeters contained in Chalkley, ed., Chronicles of Scotch-Irish in Va., III, 579, 249-250, 587, I, 400, II, 293, III, 239, II, 216.

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10. Claim for William Henderson contained in Reg. Ky. Hist. Soc., XXI (1923), 185.

11. Claims for Allen, Kerr, and Jacob Smith contained in Jillson, comp., Ky. Land Grants, 16, 74, 120. Claims for Joseph Smith and David Laird, and records of military warrants contained in Jillson, comp., Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds: A Complete Index to All of the Earliest Land Entries, Military Warrants, Deeds and Wills of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. Filson Club Publications No. 34 (Louisville, Ky., 1926), 63, 233, 361.

12. Claims for Graham, Stephenson, and Ray contained in Jillson, comp., Old Ky. Entries, 211, 291, 276.

13. Claims for Dickey, Young, Trotter, Campbell, McDowell, Humphreys, and Griffith contained in ibid., 94, 163, 155, 83, 121, 111, 113.

14. Claims for Buchanan, Patton, Finley, Monger, and McClure contained in ibid., 181, 268, 204, 49, 430.

15. Claims for Curry and Ewing contained in Jillson, comp., Ky. Land Grants, 295, 306. Military warrants for Hook and Martin in Jillson, comp., Old Ky. Entries, 339, 348.

16. Names from tax lists contained in Charles B. Heinemann, comp., First Census of Kentucky, 1790 (Baltimore, Md., 1956).

17. Names from 1800 tax lists contained in G. Glenn Clift, ed., Second Census of Kentucky, 1800 (Frankfort, Ky., 1954). Information on David Laird contained in Ronald Vern Jackson and Gary Ronald Teeple, eds., Kentucky 1810 Census (Provo, Utah, 1978), 450.

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19. William Trotter's will contained in Ardery, comp., Ky. Records, II, 89. George Trotter's will in McAdams, comp., Ky. Pioneer and Court Records, 27. Col. James Trotter's obituary in G. Glenn Clift, comp., Kentucky Obituaries, 1787-1854 (Baltimore, Md., 1977), 50.

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21. McCleary, Hinds, Humphreys, and Monger contained in Chalkley, ed., Chronicles of Scotch-Irish in Va., II, 237, 31, 21, I, 421, 398, II, 60-61, 164, 239. Humphreys' obituary in Clift, comp., Ky. Obituaries, 33.

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4. Ibid., 322.

5. James Rood Robertson, ed., Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia, 1769 to 1792, Filson Club Publications No. 27 (Louisville, Ky., 1914), 4-5, 27.

6. Ibid., 84-86, 107-110, 114-116, 119, 130-131. Woodford petitions contained in Silas Emmett Lucas, Jr., ed., "Petitions from Kentuckians to the Virginia Legislature," appendix to 1981 reprint ed., Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, XXI (1923), 359-366.

7. Robertson, ed., Petitions of Early Inhabitants, 110-111, 119, 116-117, 91, 131-132.

8. Numbered petitions and quotation in ibid., 60-62, 82-84, 127-128, 15. Unnumbered petitions in Lucas, ed., "Petitions from Kentuckians to Va. Legislature," appendix to 1981 reprint ed., Reg. Ky. Hist. Soc., XXI (1923), 347, 366-367.

9. Lucien Beckner, ed., "Rev. John Dabney Shane's Interview with Mrs. Sarah Graham of Bath County," Filson Club Historical Quarterly, IX (1935), 225, and "John D. Shane's Interview with Benjamin Allen, Clark County," ibid., V (1931), 85.

10. Robertson, ed., Petitions of Early Inhabitants, 124-125, 134-136, quotation on 135.

11. Ibid., quotations on 128, 129.

12. Ibid., quotations on 145, 146.

13. Ibid., 156-157, 164-165, quotations on 165.

14. Anonymous, "To the Good People of Kentucke," Kentucky Gazette, Aug. 18, 1787; "Noviciatus," ibid., Sept. 15, 1787; Cornplanter, "To the free Inhabitants of KENTUCKE," ibid., Sept. 13, 1788.

15. "Noviciatus," Ky. Gaz., Sept. 15, 1787; "Cornplanter," ibid., July 12, 1788.

16. Lucas, ed., "Petitions from Kentuckians to Va. Legislature," appendix to 1981 reprint ed., Reg. Ky. Hist. Soc., XXI (1923), 338-339, quotations on 339.

17. Robertson, ed., Petitions of Early Inhabitants, 62-65, quotation on 64.

18. Ibid., 121-122.

19. Ibid., quotations on 91, 109, and 110.

20. Joan Wells Coward, Ky. in the New Republic, 1-10, quotation on 3.

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